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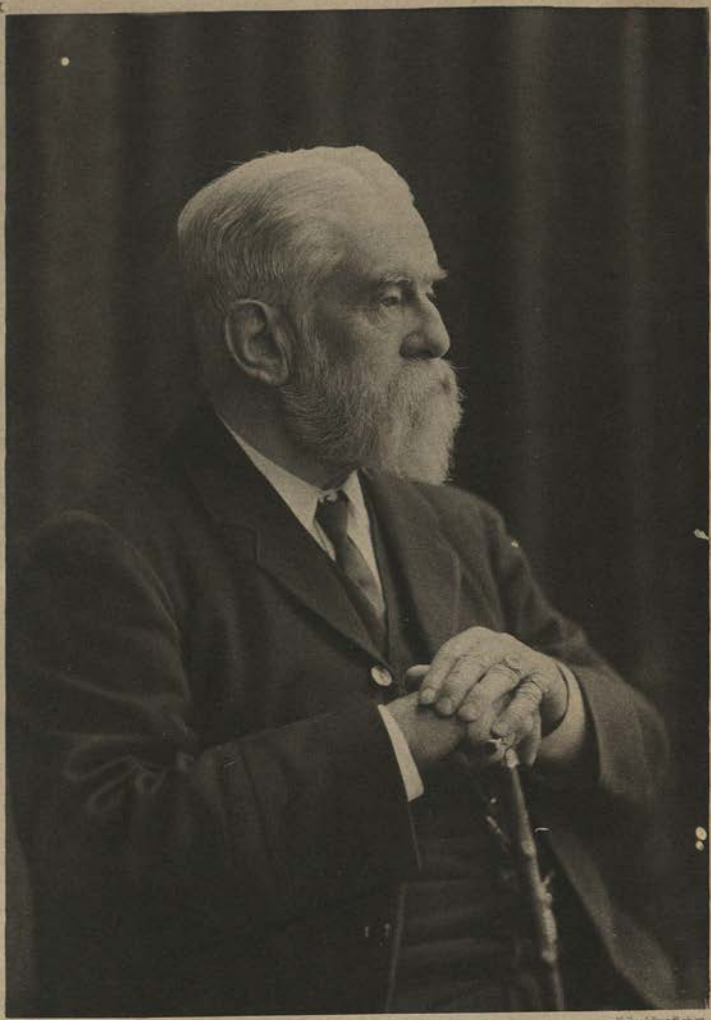
RECOLLECTIONS OF MY LIFE

chè, seggendo in piuma,
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre:
Sanza la qual, chi sua vita consuma,
Cotal vestigio in terra di sè lascia,
Qual fummo in aere, od in acqua la schiuma.

—*Inferno*, xxiv. 47-51.



Window & Grove photo

Walker & Boutell, ph.sc.

Joseph Fayrer

COLLECTIONS OF MY LIFE

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BY

SURGEON-GENERAL

SIR JOSEPH FAYRER, BART.

K.C.S.I., LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., Q.H.P., ETC.;

HON. PHYSICIAN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES;
PHYSICIAN IN ORDINARY TO THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH;
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FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF MEDICINE
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IN REMEMBRANCE

OF FORTY-FIVE YEARS SPENT TOGETHER,

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

TO MY WIFE.

PREFACE.

In these memoirs I have endeavoured to describe as succinctly and briefly as possible the course of a somewhat varied and eventful life.

I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr Andrew Davidson for the assistance he has rendered me in compressing the work within the compass of a single volume, and can only hope that it may fulfil in some measure the wishes of friends who have often urged me to undertake it. Much has of necessity been omitted, but if that which remains prove acceptable to those who are interested in India and in the career of the writer, the labour entailed will be fully recompensed.

With regard to that particular portion of the volume which relates to the siege and defence of the Lucknow Residency, I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the works of the writers mentioned in the text for information as to some

dates, facts, and figures. But I have recorded nothing of which I was not assured at the time of its occurrence, either by personal observation or the report of unquestioned authority, though doubtless some incidents might have gone unrecorded had I not had these valuable works to refer to.

I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales for his gracious permission to use those photographs which illustrate his travels in India.

I wish also to record my thanks to Messrs Bourne & Shepherd and others who have kindly allowed me to use their photographs, but I must express my regret that in the case of a few I have been quite unable to trace the artists, and I trust, therefore, that they will accept this acknowledgment of my debt to them.

I desire to offer my cordial thanks to my friend Miss E. F. Parry, by whose able co-operation the task of producing this book has been much lightened.

J. F.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE.

Birth — Family — Father's services — Early education — Recollections of Ambleside and Portpatrick — Visit to Shane's Castle, Ireland, and Lochnau Castle, Galloway — School-days — Return to Portpatrick — Liverpool — Commence profession of engineering — Go to sea as midshipman — Visits to West Indies and South America — Bermuda — Recollections of life there — Outbreak of yellow fever — Commence study of medicine at naval hospital — Return to England to study medicine in London — Adventures on the voyage home — Visit to the Azores — Study in London.

I AM the second son of a family of eight,—six sons and two daughters,—and was born on December 6, 1824, at Plymouth, where my father and mother were on a visit after one of his voyages to India.

My father was one of three sons of Captain J. Fayrer: the eldest was the Rev. Joseph Fayrer, rector of St Teath, Cornwall; the third, Edward, a midshipman in the navy, was drowned when H.M.S. Defence foundered, with all hands, in a gale of wind in the Baltic in 1811. My mother was the only daughter of a Lancashire gentleman named Wilkinson: she was descended on the female side from John Copeland, who took David, King of Scots, prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross.

My father, who retired as a commander, entered the navy at an early age: he served first as a midshipman on board H.M.S. Caroline, Captain Page, and subsequently, among other ships, in the Impérieuse under Lord Cochrane, where among his messmates were Marryat, Houston Stewart, Walpole, and others who rose to distinction. In 1807 he was severely wounded, when in command of the boats of the Impérieuse, in an attack off the coast of Corsica upon a heavily armed ship which was taken with great loss on both sides. Lord Napier of Merchiston was with him on this occasion, and was also wounded. The ship, which proved to be a Maltese privateer under French colours, fired upon the boats: they immediately attacked and took her by boarding, losing many men. My father killed the captain of the privateer, and had, with other wounds, his right arm shattered by a bullet. For his services on this occasion he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1808. When lying unconscious from fever in Malta Hospital, some one hung a gold cross and chain round his neck with an inscription: he never knew the donor. He recovered after a long illness, with his right arm badly crippled, and remained for some time on half pay. He served afterwards, and was first lieutenant of the Orpheus, Captain Hugh Pigott, during the American war. Subsequently he obtained permission to command an Indiaman, and for many years sailed in ships of that class, the Lady Flora being the last.

My earliest recollections are of Milnthorpe, Kendal, and Ambleside. I remember Wordsworth, who lived at Rydal Mount, and Hartley Coleridge, the poet; also my father's friend, Professor Wilson of Edinburgh (Christopher North), who used to visit us. We removed to Scotland when my father was appointed to command one of H.M. steam-packets, flying the pennant and sailing between Portpatrick and Donaghadee, Ireland. It was my ramblings here on the sea-shore and amongst the rocks, and occasional shooting and fishing expeditions with my father, that first developed my taste for natural history and for sport.

My father was a keen sportsman, and was always a welcome guest at the houses of his many friends in Galloway. On one occasion he took me to Shane's Castle, in County Antrim, on a visit to his friend Lord O'Neil, where I saw him catch the great lake trout in Lough Neagh. It was during one of his visits there that, when some one—I think it was he—was fishing with a fly for large trout, in casting his line backwards, the hook fastened on to the ear of a hare sitting on her form. She was fairly hooked and caught. I have seen a sketch of this, and believe it was at Shane's Castle. My father used to shoot with a Joe Manton 16-bore gun, which was not new even then. It is in my possession, and now, converted into a breechloader, I shoot with it in preference to any other gun.

Portpatrick, the nearest point to Donaghadee in Ireland, is an exposed and stormy place. The harbour was protected by an extensive pier and breakwaters of granite, and it was a grand sight to see the heavy seas break over them. At the end of the pier was a strongly built lighthouse, a visit to the interior of which was one of the treats of my young days. On the other side was a sheltered harbour reserved for the two royal steamers. Trending away on either side of the port was a bold rocky coast, varied here and there with shingly and sandy beaches. In some places the cliffs rose abruptly out of the sea: it was a very picturesque and at the same time a wild and dangerous coast. The harbour works were very costly, and involved a continuous outlay, owing to the damage done by the storms, when great blocks of granite were displaced by the pressure of the sea-water. In later years, after the Government steamers were removed, these works were abandoned and fell to pieces.

On one occasion, when wandering along the rocks with one of my brothers, he slipped on the seaweed and fell in where the water was very deep, and I had great difficulty in saving him, seizing him by the collar and dragging him out on to a ledge of rock.

One of my favourite resorts was the Government car-

penter's shop: the head carpenter was a great friend of mine, and used to supply me with wood from which I made boats. I began to draw pretty well, my favourite subjects being animals and boats. I also read elementary works on natural philosophy, and used to ponder much over chemical and other experiments. I was peculiarly fond of reading as a boy, and devoured every work of fiction I could get.

In one of my country walks with my brother I met with a serious accident. In jumping a burn I slipped and fell with violence on my left arm, hurting it severely. We set off home, but I felt very anxious about alarming my mother, and determined to stop at the doctor's house *en route*. He examined my arm, which was by this time very painful and much swollen, found the elbow was badly dislocated, and proceeded at once to reduce the dislocation, giving me exquisite pain. I suffered long and severely from that injury: the joint became contracted and stiffened, and the forcible extension of the arm, which was necessary for some time, caused me great pain. In time I recovered, but the elbow sustained some permanent damage. I got considerable *kudos* for my presence of mind and determination in going to the doctor on the way home, and met with much sympathy.

At a pretty place named Dunskye, the property of the Hunter Blairs, I made my first essay in skating on the lake. I used to enjoy my visits to this place with its woods, glens, and sandy bays by the sea-shore.

When I was between eleven and twelve years of age, my elder brother and I went to the Rev. R. Wallace, Dalrymple, in Ayrshire, who took pupils. Up to this time we had been educated at home under a tutor, and I could read an easy Latin book. My school-fellows were Loudon and Frank Macleod of Raasay, Francis Hunter of Dunholme, John Crawford, George Dundas, and Lord Nigel Kennedy, who came just before I left. There we were thoroughly well trained in classics and mathematics, other subjects being taught by the village schoolmaster. We had all the ordinary amuse-

ments of boys, and plenty of trout-fishing, especially on the property of the Cunninghams of Skeldon, our great friends. It was in the river Doon I first learnt to swim, in one of the deep pools we resorted to as bathing-places.

When we left Dalrymple, my brother went to England to a public school, and I returned home to study under a tutor. I had made considerable progress in my classical studies at all events, and had become well versed in the folk-lore of the country and the superstitions of the people, in which I to some extent shared, and had further developed those tastes for natural history and sport which have clung to me through life.

Shortly after this, my father, having determined to go to sea again, resigned his appointment. He was already regarded as an authority on steam navigation, and the command of the Great Liverpool, which was to sail from Liverpool to New York, the largest ocean-going steamer, was offered to him. Up to this time, I believe, the Great Western and the Sirius were the only two steamers that had crossed the Atlantic, thus, however, discrediting Dr Lardner's prophecy that a ship would never cross the Atlantic by steam. My father may certainly be regarded as one of the pioneers of ocean steam navigation.

When we removed to Liverpool I was fourteen, and my brother Robert and I were sent to a day-school. I took a special delight in natural science, and began to devise experiments on my own account. For instance, I manufactured an electrophorus and a Leyden jar with which I gave a shock to one of our old servants, which frightened her considerably and me too, for I thought she was dead! I used also to attend lectures in the evening, and especially recall a series by Haydon on painting, which interested me greatly. A terrific gale which burst over Liverpool one night destroyed several houses and killed many people. It is still remembered as one of the severest gales with which the place has ever been visited.

We frequently had interesting visitors. On one occasion

the great American statesman Daniel Webster, after dining with us, when he was looking at my drawings, said, on seeing one of an Arab horse, "Sir, you draw horses so well you ought to have horses to draw you." I can also remember amongst other visitors and friends Captain Marryat, my father's old messmate in the Impérieuse. Once I sat between him and Miss Ellen Tree after dinner, and was much amused at their conversation and his stories.

About this time the war in the East broke out, when an old friend and messmate of my father's, Lord John Churchill, who had been appointed to command H.M.S. Druid, offered to take me with him as a midshipman—an offer my father declined with thanks. I did not regret it then, as I had not thought of the navy as a profession, but did later when my nautical proclivities had developed. Amongst other incidents, I remember about this time being taken to a steeplechase, which was won by the celebrated horse Lottery, a six-foot stone-wall being the last jump.

In 1840 I began the study of engineering with a friend of my father's, and went to an engine factory daily; but I did not like it, because it was too mechanical, and soon became restless and anxious to do something else. Meanwhile my father had been appointed to the command of the President, the largest steamship afloat at the time, and when she made her trial trip to Cork I went with him. In returning we anchored in Kingston harbour, where I went on board the Inconstant, frigate. The voyage, my frequent meetings with naval men, and my visit to the frigate set me thinking again of what I had for some time been hankering after—namely, to go to sea. Meanwhile my father took the President to New York, and had a great reception there. He had fought against the Americans when he was lieutenant of the Orpheus: he now met some of his old adversaries, and they became great friends. He was most enthusiastic about the Americans, as well he might be, for they treated him with great kindness. He had been presented also with some beautiful plate and a silver

speaking-trumpet. He left the President owing to some difference of opinion with the directors. She made a second voyage from which she never returned.

Soon after this the West Indian Mail Steam-packet service was inaugurated with a fine fleet of steamers named after the great rivers. My father was offered command of the first of them, the Forth, and she came to Liverpool to be fitted with engines. My desire to go to sea became stronger than ever; but I was now too old for the navy, being sixteen years of age. These ships were beautifully fitted out, and the officers wore uniform. It was decided that they should also have midshipmen, and at my request my father got me appointed as one to the Thames, Captain P. Hast, an old naval friend of his. We shortly left Liverpool and took up our abode at Southampton, as it was from that port that the West Indian steamers were to sail.

I was just seventeen when I went to London to join the Thames at Blackwall. I was very sick and miserable at first, and we had a heavy rolling sea in the Bay of Biscay, but I soon began to get about and learn my duties, to take the sun, to work the day's reckoning, and find the ship's place on the chart. This we did each day, and sent it in to the captain at noon. I learnt to go aloft, to reef, steer, box the compass, make knots, splicings, bowlines, &c., and by the time the first voyage was over was becoming a fairly good sailor. We went to the West Indian Islands and several ports in Mexico and South America. I was much struck with the beauty of the island of Madeira, with its vine-clad slopes, the picturesque harbour of Funchal, the boatmen with their little conical caps, and the ladies with their lace veils. I made some expeditions, amongst others to the convent of N. Senhora. We then went to Paramaribo in Dutch Guiana, and next to Demerara.

Here I made my first acquaintance with tropical climates and scenery. An extraordinary incident occurred as we were coasting along the shore of South America. The

patent log towing astern was seized by some great fish; the creature was spun round and round in the water, and then disappeared. It had evidently seized, and could not immediately relinquish, the brass log, which, on the line being hauled in, was found to be a good deal injured.

In Demerara I found some old family friends, and visiting them, had an adventure. The steamer lay out in the rapid current in the river, and I was returning to her in a jolly-boat pulled by two boys. We made allowance for the current and fetched the ship all right; but no one was on the look-out to throw us a rope, and the boy failed to catch hold with the boat-hook. The rapid stream swept us off towards the sea, the night setting in, and we were soon out of sight of the steamer and the lights of the town. I was making up my mind to pull in towards the shore and make fast there until daylight, when fortunately we came in sight of a small merchant vessel at anchor. We steered alongside, they threw us a rope, and the master sent us back to the steamer, not a little disconcerted by our adventure, which might have ended badly for us.

We went to the island of Trinidad, passing through the Bocas—channels between islands, by which the harbour of the Port of Spain is approached—and here, landing one night during a shower of rain, I saw a magnificent specimen of a double lunar rainbow. We visited La Guayra, on the coast of South America, lying at the foot of the saddle of Caracas, which was the scene of a great earthquake during the early part of this century, the traces of which still remained—for instance, the ruins of the houses and the chasms that had been left in the town. Landing here one day in a cutter, a heavy surf rolling, as I jumped on to the landing-place the swell carried away the boat and rolled her over in the surf on the beach, but fortunately no one was drowned.

When sailing along the coast between La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, on one occasion we passed through quantities of dead fish, many of large size. The only explana-

tion suggested was that they had been destroyed by some sudden submarine volcanic action. We visited also the island of Curaçoa, which is remarkable for the size and importance of its harbour and fortifications.

We made more than one visit to Tampico and Vera Cruz in the Gulf of Mexico, and on one occasion approached Vera Cruz in a heavy gale of wind, a norther, the force of which was terrific. The surface of the sea was a sheet of foam with a phosphorescent appearance, and at night it was very wild and impressive. We had some sails blown away, and were in not a little danger, but got in safely. The fortress and walls of San Juan di Ulloa are very strong; they are built of porous stone, and several cannon-shot were embedded in them, the remains of some former siege. The city seemed a neglected, dirty place, full of buzzards that hovered about or settled in the streets. In one of our trips from Havana to Vera Cruz we had yellow fever (*vomito*) on board and lost one man. This caused considerable consternation; but the disease did not spread, and we soon forgot all about it. We paid more than one visit to Havana, where friends of my father received me kindly and took me to the carnival ball at the Tacon Theatre and to other entertainments; but the thought of yellow fever somewhat marred the pleasure. There was a good deal of this in the ships in the harbour at the time: many had the yellow flag flying or the ensign half-mast high.

We made many trips to the other West Indian islands, but I saw nothing more picturesque than the narrow entrance to the harbour of Havana, with the castle of the Morro, whence a sentry used to hail the ships as they passed. We visited Jamaica, and went up to Spanish Town from Port Royal, where the ship lay at anchor off the palisades: here the sea-breeze, "the Doctor," was very refreshing in the tropical heat. Thoughts of yellow fever and the land-crabs, which were said to eat the bodies of people who were buried there, occurred to me; but we all escaped. We went also to St Thomas, where the cool evening air, the bright star-

light, and the cheerful society were very charming. The negroes of St Thomas are polyglots, and it was strange to hear them speak English, French, Dutch, and Danish.

Among other places, we visited the Windward Islands, Barbadoes, Grenada, St Vincent, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St Kitt's, the Bahamas, and Bermudas, and I well remember the lovely scenery and the bright appearance of these islands. I often went ashore at Barbadoes, and used to go to the hotel of Miss Betsy Austin, the old lady mentioned in Captain Marryat's novels as giving the Dignity Balls, more than one of which festivities I have attended. This old lady was very civil to me, having known my father when he was a lieutenant in a frigate there.

At Grenada the ship used to go into a landlocked harbour called the Carinage, where the water was clear as crystal, and fish, corals, and seaweed were visible in its depths. There was a very picturesque little watering-place where the boats used to fill their casks. Near this on one occasion, tempted by the beautiful water and the warm air, I stripped and plunged in. When swimming leisurely along not very far from the shore, I suddenly felt a severe pain in my legs, as if something sharp had penetrated them: on striking out vigorously, fresh pain followed, and with great difficulty I got into the boat. My legs were bleeding and covered with numerous dark spots. I had swum among a nest of sea-urchins, which in this part of the world have spines many inches long. These spines had stuck in my legs and broken off. They took me to an old negro woman's hut not far off, and she picked them out with a needle and applied some soothing remedy, but my legs were stiff and sore for some days afterwards. Subsequently on going over the spot in a boat I saw the sea-urchins in quantities, and was not astonished at the result of my intrusion into their domain!

There were pleasant walks to visit the sugar-plantations, where I saw the processes of cane-growing and sugar-making. There was scarcely an island of the group we did not

visit, many of them more than once. On one occasion we caught a shark, and once a small coasting vessel lying off one of the harbours was pointed out to me as the scene of a tragic incident a few days before. The master, a mulatto, had put his little boy over the side in the bight of a rope, to teach him to swim. There was a rush, a plunge, a splash, a shriek of terror and pain, and the horror-stricken father drew in the upper half of his child, who had been bitten in two by a shark!

This reminds me of an adventure of my own. We were lying off Hogg Island, New Providence, in the Bahamas, and two of us landed on the island in one of the ship's cutters. On beaching the boat on the sand, the lug-sail was taken down, the small mizzen left standing, and one man was directed to stay to watch the boat. We wandered from the shore, and were soon out of sight of her in some sandhills. After some little time it occurred to me to look from the top of one of these hills to see if she was all right. What was my dismay to find that she was floating purposelessly about several hundred yards from the shore, gradually getting out to sea! I rushed down to the water's edge, pulled off my clothes, all but a pair of cotton drawers, which were tied below the knee with long tape-strings, went into the water, and struck out for the boat. The man who had been left with her had by this time discovered the result of his disobedience of orders, and followed me into the water. We were both striking out vigorously for the boat, when something seemed to seize me by one leg, and the horrid thought flashed across my mind that a shark had touched me, and would make another attack immediately. I nearly sank with horror, for I remembered then that the water swarmed with sharks, that they had been alongside the ship that day, and that a studding-sail which had been put over the side for people to swim in had been taken in, sharks coming round it so continuously as to make it dangerous. However, nothing further happened. I regained my self-possession, reached the boat, and got to her about

the same time as the man. We scrambled in and soon got her back to the shore. The feeling of something grasping my leg had been caused by the long string of my drawers coming untied and wrapping round it as I struck out.

I was now in my eighteenth year, and well grown—not very muscular, but active, energetic, and capable of enduring any amount of fatigue and exertion. I was making considerable progress in my profession, could navigate, and could have taken the ship anywhere. I knew the internal economy, the rigging and sails, and occasionally during my watch at sea the officer of the watch would allow me to make or shorten sail, and sometimes I was even left for a short time in charge of the deck. I was fond of boating, and could sail or steer a cutter as well as any one on board, but was not contented, and made up my mind to try and get into the Indian navy, which was open to a much later age than the British, or if that were not possible, into the Indian army. The surgeon of the ship was a great friend of mine. He often suggested that I should study medicine, and, I fancy, deposited a germ which under favouring influences developed later into the determination to do so. I made many sketches of headlands and islands as seen from the ship, and also of ships—all now lost, as is, I fear, the art that produced them.

Our visit to the West Indian Islands had terminated at Bermuda as the last port before we returned to England. On the completion of my third voyage, after having been just a year at sea, I obtained my father's permission to give it up, seeing no reasonable prospect of success in that line. I remained with my family at Southampton for some time, studying with a tutor and making several acquaintances. One was a French *emigré*, M. le Vicomte le Doulcet de Méry, to whom I was much attached, and with whom I studied French. He was a most accomplished gentleman and scholar.

In 1843 my father, having received an appointment in

Bermuda, was instructed to take out H.M.S. Tenedos, which on arrival was to be stationed there as a receptacle for prisoners, as Bermuda was then a convict station. We had a favourable passage out, and I amused myself by working the ship's reckoning. She was a beautiful frigate, and sailed well. On our arrival she was stationed with two others like herself in the carinage, an enclosed harbour in Ireland Island, where were the naval establishment and dockyard. It is a picturesque little island, covered with cedar-trees and smaller vegetation; and on it was also the Naval hospital, a beautifully situated and picturesque spot, and houses of officers and others. There were several residents, all connected with the naval and military establishments.

Not long after our arrival I completed my nineteenth year, and was growing more anxious about my future. I occupied myself with study and drawing, fishing and shooting occasionally, though there was but little game except when plover or other birds of passage visited the island, the denizens being confined to ground doves and red and blue cardinals. My future career was determined sooner than seemed probable, for not very long after we had been established in the island a severe epidemic of yellow fever visited us, as it was wont to do at intervals of some years, and proved very fatal, especially to the troops. I had friends among the naval and military medical officers, chiefly at the Naval hospital, which was under the charge of Deputy Inspector-General Dr King. I shall ever remember with gratitude the names of John Page Burke and Robert Beith, two surgeons at the Naval hospital, who taught me much. I was strongly impressed during the prevalence of this fever with the importance of the medical profession, seeing how highly it was valued and how great an influence its members exercised for good. The old idea, which had been more than once present in my thoughts, recurred, and I determined to enter the Service. The social position of the

medical officers was good: their duty was to relieve pain and save life, and nobly they all did it. The youngest of them at that time seemed of more importance than an admiral or a general, and the science, moreover, was made up of branches of knowledge that interested me deeply. The epidemic had scarcely ceased ere I saw opportunity of giving effect to my views; and at the suggestion of my friends, and by my own express desire, Dr King was good enough to let me attend the practice of the Naval hospital and work in the dispensary. Here I made my first acquaintance with the nature and preparation of drugs, and watched the practice of the medical officers in the wards. I read hard at osteology, and soon gained a fair knowledge of it. My friends the medical officers took every opportunity of demonstrating at post-mortem examinations all that could in that way be taught of anatomy, and Burke especially taught me how to apply bandages, splints, &c., and to dress wounds. Here I saw my first important surgical operation, the ligature of the femoral artery for aneurism. I watched it, not without some qualms—anæsthetics were not then known—but with intense interest, and never felt any uneasiness after that at the sight of an operation.

In August 1844 it was decided that I should go to London to continue my studies. My father was guided in this respect by Dr Hall, an old and distinguished naval surgeon, who recommended strongly that I should become a pupil at the Charing Cross School of Medicine, and gave me some introductions. He especially wished me to be under the tutelage of Mr Guthrie, who was then of great repute in London.

My chief recreation was sailing. The Bermuda boats are peculiarly built and rigged. They are decked, have a cabin and an open space abaft the cabin, and a small space in front for the men. Their single mast is of great length, stepped near the bow and raking aft, with a very powerful triangular boom-sail, a short bowsprit, and a jib. I

used to spend a good deal of time in a fine one that belonged to my father, and frequently sailed her amongst the islands, and took my sister to Hamilton for shopping or to visit friends. It was a long sail from Ireland Island across, and then a considerable way up the channel between the islands, to Hamilton; but I knew the navigation well, and could sail her in any weather. When blowing hard, the jib rolled round the stay, the mainsail reefed, and the boom well flattened in, these boats will work to windward, tacking under the single sail as no other boat in the world, I believe, will do. They are very wet when pressed, but splendid sea-boats: their best point of sailing is when close hauled. I had one very sad adventure in this boat.

When we started for Hamilton one day the weather was fine but squally, and we arrived quickly at our destination. The ladies were some time in town; the wind had meanwhile freshened, and was blowing hard in gusts. I double-reefed the sail and set the small jib. We got on well till we came to the Sound, where the sea was very heavy and the wind blowing half a gale or more and right against us. I soon took in another reef, and was making short tacks across the channel. The jib was pressing her so heavily that I determined to take it off and work under the reefed mainsail alone. There were two men in the boat, who had on pea-jackets and heavy sea-boots. I told them what I was going to do, and ordered one man to roll the jib round the stay, a common practice in a Bermudian boat. When I luffed the boat up and emptied the sail, he stepped out with his heavy boots and coat on,—he had been told to take them off some time before, but had not done so,—unhooked the sheet, and rolled the sail round the stay. All this time the boat was pitching heavily and taking in the water. As he stepped back his foot slipped and he went overboard. I had put up the helm, and her head had fallen off. Almost before I could realise what had happened he sank with the weight of his heavy clothes.

I threw over all the spare spars I could lay hands on. The other man was paralysed and could do nothing, the boat meanwhile drifting to leeward. I pulled off my coat and would have jumped in after him, but the girls came out of the cabin and caught hold of me. I saw him struggling for a moment as a big wave raised him to the line of vision. I had put the boat about again by this time —she was nearly swamped in doing it—and tacked over the place several times but could see nothing of him: the weight of his clothes had dragged him down. We got home safe but very wet, and I reported the loss of my man. It clearly was no fault of mine, but it made a great impression on me and distressed me much. My brother Robert, midshipman in H.M.S. Endymion, when in command of a boat going on shore, picked up the body of the man a few days afterwards. The Endymion left soon after, and I never saw my brother again.

On another occasion I was going on board one of the men-of-war, in an ordinary gig under sail. A sudden squall struck us, the sheet was not let go soon enough, and over we went. She filled and righted, but did not go down: we sat in the swamped boat till another came to our rescue.

It had now been decided that I should go to England in the steamer Tay. She had been ashore on the Colorados Reefs, Cuba, and, having injured her forefoot badly, was brought into the carinage, examined, and the extent of the injury ascertained. A bulkhead was built up, cutting off the engine-room from the fore part of the ship, and a double sail was passed under her bow. As it was summer, and fine weather might be anticipated, she was permitted to start on the homeward voyage. It continued fine for some days, then became stormy and wet, and a head wind raised a heavy sea. The captain and officers became anxious, the ship was working heavily, and they found the sail giving way: she was leaking considerably, but the pumps connected with the engine-room so far kept her clear. One

night after we had been some time at sea it was blowing hard, and I walked the deck till late, feeling very anxious. Having gone below and fallen asleep, I was almost washed out of my berth by a heavy sea coming through the open port. I hurried on deck and saw that the smoke from the funnel, instead of flying aft, was going with the ship. The motion had changed; she was rolling heavily before the wind instead of pitching in the head sea. The officer of the watch told me that the ship's course had been changed to ease her, as the heavy head sea was increasing the leakage. He was evidently anxious, as was also the captain, who came on deck frequently. I saw the men on the forecastle suddenly collect round the fore-hatch, and looking down, shall never forget what met my view. The water was pouring in and surging up in volumes, and was already on a level with the orlop-deck, but was kept from getting farther aft by the bulkhead put up in Bermuda. The captain was soon there, the crew were roused, and the passengers gathered together in great alarm. Extra pumps were rigged and all set to work at them. The ship soon began to sink much by the head, her stern was raised, and she was steering wildly. The water was washing over and beginning to get farther aft; the engine pumps were evidently not acting, and it was ascertained that the pipes leading through the bulkhead had been choked. In this emergency the second mate—his name, if I recollect rightly, was Rivington—dived to the bottom of the seething water, holding to a rope, and partially freed some of the pipes. Every effort was being made to get the water out, and the passengers as well as the crew were all at work, among them two French engineers who had been at Panama in connection with the proposed canal. They were very energetic and urgent about making a raft, though what they thought we could do with it in that heavy sea I don't know. In a roll of the ship one poor fellow was thrown down, cut his head open, and bled profusely. I picked him up and bound up the wound. The passengers soon

went below, and shortly after, when I went down, most of them were assembled in the saloon at prayers. There were several ladies and some children, and the ladies appeared very calm and tranquil. It was quite believed that the ship was going to sink, and it certainly looked very like it. The captain had scarcely been in bed since we left Bermuda, and was worn out with fatigue and anxiety. I was too restless and anxious to remain below, and went on deck again. There was a gleam of sunshine, and it was now near noon. The captain got up his sextant and took the sun: there had been no observation for some days, on account of the thickness of the weather. I took the time for him by the chronometer, and asked him what he thought. He said the only chance for us was to get into the Azores, but he feared it was impossible. When he had worked the longitude and ticked off the ship's place on the chart, he called several of the men passengers into his cabin and told us our position and the extremity of our danger, which was obvious. He asked us whether he should try and make for the nearest of the Azores, Corvo, and run the ship on shore, or whether he should make for the harbour of Fayal, incurring the risk of sinking in doing so. I knew well enough that the former plan would be fatal, as it was a steep and rocky shore, and with Mr Drummond Hay, a passenger, called out, "Try for Fayal." Some were clamorous for Corvo as the nearest point of land, but it was decided we should make for Fayal. I went on deck and remained there all night. The crew showed symptoms of disorder and a desire to get at drink, but the officers kept them in hand. The wind abated a little, but the sea was terrible, the ship rolling heavily and going very slowly, for the engines were hardly working: it was chiefly by press of canvas we got on. The leak, however, did not seem to increase. We spent a fearful night, for our condition appeared hopeless. I was haunted with the thought of how the end would come, whether by drowning outright or being crushed in the breaking-up or

sinking ship, but kept myself employed as much as possible, and became quite one of the ship's company. When daylight broke the sea had abated and land was in sight. Fresh hope and renewed vigour prevailed, and that morning we ran into the shelter of the Bay of Fayal, where we found H.M.S. Styx at anchor. She immediately sent assistance and took charge of the ship. The naval lieutenant in charge of the mails made his report,—the captain being prostrate in his cabin,—and it was determined that we were to land immediately. I went with some others to a hotel at the town of Horta, and, only too thankful to be on *terra firma* again, lay down and slept for many hours.

Here I saw another capital operation. The medical man practising here came one day and asked the surgeon and me to assist him. We rode some distance into the interior over very rough but picturesque ground, where I was much struck with the beauty of the vegetation and the lovely views. Pico, rearing its pyramid-like summit 7000 feet, was a very prominent object. We found the patient in a small room where there was scarcely space to perform the operation, which was amputation of the leg. It was well and successfully done, and we left him in as satisfactory a condition as possible.

In about a week the Tay had been sufficiently patched up to proceed to England. H.M.S. Styx was to accompany her and see her safely into port; but Mr D. Hay, one lady, another man, and myself were the only passengers who elected to go on in her. The captain had recovered sufficiently to resume the command. We had a good passage with moderately smooth water until we arrived in the chops of the Channel, when it again began to blow hard. We stopped off Plymouth while the Styx ran in to report to the admiral, but she was ordered out immediately to accompany us to Southampton. Our coal was nearly exhausted, and we were sailing very light: the ship was leaking heavily, but the engine pumps were enough to keep us clear as long as the coal lasted, and if the weather had been fine we

should have had nothing to fear. I went to bed, glad in the prospect of being ashore next day: the weather, however, looked dirty and threatening. During the night the wind freshened, and in the morning it was so thick we could not see fifty yards ahead. When we had run by the log so far as to be off the Isle of Wight, we had lost sight of the Styx, and could see no pilot. We ran on cautiously, and the fog lifting a little, we found we were in sight of St Catherine's lighthouse, Isle of Wight. We fired guns, but could get no pilot, so in our extremity the captain made a dash for the Needles: we passed them safely, and got up the Solent. It was a very risky thing to do, but it was our only chance, and fortune favoured us. I heard subsequently that the captain left the ship, but did not hear that the second officer, who had behaved so gallantly when she was in such danger, ever got any reward for his conduct.

On arriving in London the next day I went to look for my aunt, but found that she had left and the house was shut up. I then went to my cousin, the Rev. Robert Fayrer, who had a living in Camberwell, but he was too far off, so I found some lodgings near Russell Square, and immediately set about making arrangements for joining Charing Cross School of Medicine.

CHAPTER II.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT.

Student life in London—Fellow-students—Guthrie, Hancock, Wharton Jones, and other teachers — Visit to Westmorland—Become house-surgeon to Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital—Pass College of Surgeons—Enter naval medical service—Join H.M.S. Victory for service at Haslar Hospital—Obtain permission from the Admiralty to accompany Lord Mount-Edgcumbe to the Continent—Siege of Palermo—Rome—Study and graduation in University of Rome—Troubles of 1848*—Attack of the French on Rome—Garibaldi and other characters of interest—Genoa—Military execution—Vichy—Return to England—Epidemic of cholera—Accompany Lord Mount-Edgcumbe to Plymouth — Appointed to Ordnance Medical Department—Reduction of this department—Offered appointment as Assistant Surgeon in the Hon. East India Company's service—Journey to India in Camperdown—Arrival there.*

FOLLOWING Dr Hall's advice, I entered at the Charing Cross School of Medicine and registered my name as a student at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1844. About the same time a fellow-student joined me in lodgings, and we began to study Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, &c. I was especially interested in Mr Wharton Jones' lectures on Physiology. At these lectures T. H. Huxley sat by my side, and he it was who first directed my attention to their great interest and importance. At the end of the session I got several prizes, and a scholarship of £15 a-year for two years.

W. G. Hunter, subsequently Surgeon-General of the Bombay Army, Lambden, and T. H. Huxley, were my

chief friends among the students. During the summer session I attended lectures on Botany, Chemistry, and Natural History. We generally worked every night, but occasionally went to the theatre. The chief actors at that time were Charles Keane and Mrs Keane, Macready, Wallack, Buxton, Keeley, Bedford, Wright, Farran, Charles Mathews and Mrs Mathews, and Mrs Stirling. I knew some of them personally, and saw them all in their best parts; in fact, this was my only relaxation. Upon the whole, I led a studious and hard-working life, being very anxious to get on. I was in my twenty-first year, was of a nervous temperament, felt and thought deeply about my work, and had great perseverance, not readily relinquishing an idea after it had once taken possession of me; rather versatile, and apt to be diverted from the subject before me by something which arose out of it. The life was very different to that to which I had hitherto been accustomed, and on looking back it seems to me that it was as great a struggle as usually falls to the lot of a young student.

At the end of my second year's study I visited my aunt in Westmorland and made some new acquaintances, amongst others Miss Rodick, now Mrs Lewis of Hollington. I was appointed house surgeon of the Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital under the Guthries, father and son, and Mr Hancock. I soon acquired their confidence, and Mr Guthrie was very kind, often asking me to his house and taking me with him to surgical operations. Besides eye cases, we frequently had in the hospital selected cases of other kinds, and these were under my care.

I was also attending lectures on zoology at King's College by Rymer Jones, on botany at the Apothecaries' Gardens in Chelsea by Professor Lindley, and lectures and clinical instruction in the wards at Hanwell by Dr Conolly, the great alienist physician, who was the first to introduce milder measures in the treatment of insanity. I visited the other hospitals to see the great surgeons operate, and made acquaintance with Fergusson at King's College, who was

then rising into fame. Surgery, Medicine, Midwifery, Medical Jurisprudence, and the more advanced branches of medicine, now formed part of my study. The time came for the examination of the College of Surgeons, July 1847. Through some mistake of name, I was twice called out of the waiting-room, led up into the examination hall, and then sent back again. My turn came at last. Guthrie sat at the first table with Keate, who examined me. We had a little difference of opinion about the base of the skull, Guthrie listening with interest. It appeared the examiner meant the inside, while I was describing the outside. He recognised this and was satisfied. Guthrie immediately said, "I thought he knew it." I got well over this table, had no difficulty with Andrews, Green, Liston, and the other examiners, and soon heard my name called out among the passed. I went immediately to inform my father and mother, who were in London, having recently returned from Bermuda, chiefly on account of his health. Not long after this they went to live in Jersey.

I was now anxious to get an appointment, and my kind friend Mr Guthrie wrote to the Naval Director-General, Sir William Burnett, and not long afterwards I received a summons to Somerset House, where Sir William examined me in Latin (Celsus), the Pharmacopeia, and a variety of medical and surgical matters, and said I might soon expect an appointment. The summons came shortly afterwards in the form of a letter dated 4th August 1847, enclosing my commission to H.M.S. Victory, for service at Haslar Hospital, and directing me to report myself there at once. About this time Mr Guthrie informed me that he wished me to travel with the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, who thought of wintering in Egypt. On my reminding him that I was under orders to join the Victory, he advised me to go and take up my appointment and wait. I accordingly went to Portsmouth, was placed on the books of the Victory, reported myself at Haslar, and was posted to a division for duty. Thus commenced my life as a medical

officer. Before proceeding further, I must revert to some incidents connected with my student life.

Guthrie, the authority on military surgery of those days, was a kind-hearted, noble-looking old gentleman, though abrupt and somewhat brusque in manner. When I was presented to him as a possible house-surgeon, he said, "Do you think you are fit for the work?" I replied, "I don't know, but should like to try." "And you shall try," was the reply. We got on very well together. I carried out his orders to the letter, and in an emergency acted for myself, which seemed to please him. One day when we were going round the wards, with a large following of distinguished visitors, foreign surgeons and others, we stopped at an interesting case, where he found fault with the dresser for something he had done or left undone. The student made some reply, and Guthrie said, "I daresay you think yourself a devilish clever fellow, don't you?" "No, sir, I don't," was the reply. "But you are though," said Guthrie, and we passed on.

On one occasion I worked very hard at a dissection of the nerves of the head and face which Guthrie wanted for a lecture. I was very busy at the time with my studies and hospital work, and was obliged to dissect at night as well as during my intervals of leisure in the daytime. The close application made me ill, and feeling feverish one night on going to bed, I woke with a sore throat and difficulty of breathing, and was taken into an upper room, the surgeons coming into it frequently to look at me: the instruments for tracheotomy were laid out and other preparations made for opening my windpipe. The danger passed, however, without this operation.

During my student life in London many of my father's old friends came to see me, among them the Bishop of Norwich, whose receptions I used to attend, Captain Lord Adolphus FitzClarence, Colonel Upton, and others.

T. H. Huxley, who was then my most intimate friend at the hospital, was a year my senior as a student though

of the same age. He had just completed his medical studies, having passed at the University of London. In talking over plans for the future he said how much he wished to go abroad for the purpose of studying natural history, and I recommended him to enter the navy, and told him how it was to be effected. A long conference ended in our concocting a letter to Sir W. Burnett, which resulted in his appointment to Haslar and subsequently to the Rattlesnake, Captain Owen Stanley, son of the Bishop of Norwich. He went with her in the surveying expedition to Borneo, where he commenced those investigations which led to his future eminence as a biologist. He had already distinguished himself by some researches, one of his earliest investigations being into the structure of the hair-bulb. Before he left, his brother gave a dinner-party. Huxley appeared in his uniform as an assistant surgeon with one epaulette, and sundry speeches were made in which he and I took part. In his history of himself he says that I had much to do with the initiating of his scientific career.

I sometimes went down to Greenwich to see Beith, Cullen, and others of my old Bermuda naval friends, Hassard, R.A., and Nichol, formerly of the 20th, then in the Grenadier Guards.

During the course of my studies I gained several certificates and medals in addition to those already mentioned, and was elected a fellow of the Geographical, a corresponding member of the Zoological, and a member of the Hakluyt Societies, through my father's influence.

When I joined Haslar in 1847, Sir Edward Parry was the Admiral Superintendent and Sir John Richardson the head of the medical department of the hospital. They were both friends of my father's, and it was strange that these two Arctic explorers should have been associated here. My comrades among the assistant surgeons were Dr (subsequently Sir) Andrew Clark, who became President of the Royal College of Physicians of London; Dr Breen, Dr Arthur Adams, and one other whose name I cannot recall.

After a few weeks of ordinary routine duty, I one day received a note from Lord Mount-Edgcumbe asking me to visit him at Ryde, and went by steamer from Southsea. Amongst the passengers were two French gentlemen with whom I entered into conversation. The younger one was very agreeable, and on landing an acquaintance who recognised them told me that they were Prince Louis Napoleon and Dr Conneau of Ham celebrity. I little thought that my *compagnon de voyage* was one day to be Emperor of the French! Lord Mount-Edgcumbe told me that Sir Benjamin Brodie and Mr Guthrie had recommended him to take me with him as his medical adviser on the Continent. He had thought of Egypt, but now contemplated visiting the South of Europe. My reply was that I should have been delighted, but had accepted a commission in the navy, and was now on duty at Haslar. He said that if I were willing to go he thought he could get over the difficulty. He considered me very young, but from all he had heard he was satisfied.

Late one evening, a few days afterwards, I had a message from Lord John Hay, Secretary to the Admiralty, asking me to go and see him next morning. Late as it was, I went over to see Sir Edward Parry and Sir John Richardson, showed them Lord John Hay's letter, and received permission to go to town. Lord John (Lord Auckland was at that time First Lord) told me Lord Mount-Edgcumbe had asked permission for me to accompany him on his travels for a year. There was no precedent for giving leave in this manner to a young officer who had so recently joined, but I could resign my commission temporarily and resume it again on my return.

I found Lord and Lady Mount-Edgcumbe and their party waiting at Dover. The weather was stormy and our crossing was delayed. I had to prescribe for Lord Mount-Edgcumbe that evening, and I may say that I had their confidence, and experienced the greatest kindness from them ever afterwards.

It was in the month of October 1847 that we left Dover, crossed to Boulogne, and the next day set out in carriages to Cologne, passing through St Omer, Liége, and other places. At Cologne we visited all the sights of the town, including the cathedral, then unfinished, with the relics of the three kings, and also the bones of St Ursula's virgins. We went by Rhine steamer to Mayence. I was delighted with the scenery of the Rhine, the Drachenfels, the castles and towns we passed, and was specially interested in the great fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. We drove on through Mannheim and Heidelberg, where we saw the castle and the lovely valley of the Neckar, to Basle, where we spent a night at the Hotel of the Three Kings, the blue Rhine flowing under the windows. I walked about the town and saw as much as possible, including the cathedral and Holbein's Dance of Death. From Basle we drove to Zurich, thence to Berne, on to Ragatz, and over the Splügen by the Via Mala into Italy. I was much impressed by the grandeur of the scenery as we ascended the Via Mala, and much disappointed after we crossed the pass into Italy to find the view obscured by dense mist. We stopped at Lecco, and Varenna on the Lake of Como, and thence drove to Milan, where we saw the beautiful cathedral of white marble with its treasures, and also the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci. We went to Genoa for a day or two, and I saw the Doria and other palaces, with the beautiful public gardens. On our way south we stopped at Chiaveri, where mosquitos swarmed. We passed the Gulf of Spezzia and saw the place where Shelley was drowned. Thence we drove on to Pisa, where I was much interested in the cathedral, the Campo Santo, the baptistery, and the leaning tower. In the University of Pavia I saw the head of Scarpa the great anatomist, which was preserved in spirit. At Leghorn we embarked for Naples, where I availed myself of the opportunity to see as much as possible, including the Museo Borbonico, Herculaneum, and Pompeii. From the last place I ascended Vesuvius with two companions and

a guide. On reaching the top, and when looking into the crater, an eruption of ashes and scoriæ took place. Fortunately we were on the windward side, and all that went into the air fell to leeward. It was a grand sight, but we were in some danger. The guide disappeared at once, and my companions followed him down the other side of the mountain. I found my way to the Hermitage, and got home to Naples late. We visited other interesting places, such as Posilippo and Baiæ; but we were not able, on account of the unfavourable weather, to see Capri and its blue grotto. I was fortunate in my experience of Vesuvius, as it is not every one who has been on the top, looked into the crater, and seen such an outburst. We remained three or four days at Naples, and then went by steamer to Palermo. On the way, at night, I saw the volcanic light from the top of Stromboli.

On arriving at Palermo on November 10, 1847, we went first to the Trinacria Hotel and then to the Palazzo Buttera on the same terrace, where we had a lovely view of the bay. My colloquial knowledge of French had already been very useful, and I was now beginning to speak Italian. My patient gave me some anxiety: he was much crippled by the effects of rheumatic gout, but the recurring attacks had not been severe, and he was otherwise in very good health though not able to walk.

We had not been long at Palermo before political troubles commenced. The Sicilians were in opposition to the Neapolitan Government, and before long broke out into open revolution. Palermo was garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, who occupied the citadel, Castel a Mare, and other forts, the royal palace, the treasury, and other public buildings, while the city itself was guarded by the *sbirri* or police, who were especially obnoxious to the Sicilians. We had many friends amongst the Sicilian families—the Prince Scordea, the Duca di Sierra di Falco, and others. Ruggiero Settimo was also noted among the patriots. I had a friend named Fiorelli, a master with whom to read Italian, and several

acquaintances in the university, where I attended lectures. Dr and Mrs Valentine Mott of New York were living in the Trinacria: he was a son of the celebrated American surgeon, and was practising in Palermo. He was a few years older than myself, very clever, and possessed of great physical strength and activity. We became intimate friends, and he gave me early information of what was going on, and told me there was every reason to believe that ere long there would be serious work in the city. He sympathised with the Sicilians and was prepared to cast his lot in with them, and asked me if I would assist if need should arise. I had no political sympathy with one more than the other, though glad to help in a medical capacity wherever my services would be useful.

Things went on from bad to worse; there were disturbances, and the citizens were in arms. One evening Mott told me that there was certain to be fighting that night, and asked me to be ready to accompany him into the city to aid the wounded. After dusk firing commenced and became very severe. We went out together, and under a heavy fire crossed one of the squares, where the royal troops were firing from one of the public buildings upon the people. We found the chapel of a convent already full of wounded, some dangerously, some mortally, and our work commenced immediately. That night I did my first amputation, a man's thigh, and got over it pretty well. Together we amputated some limbs, besides attending to several severely wounded men. We went also to other places where there were wounded and did what we could. As the Sicilian medical men seemed to be occupied with the fighting, we had it pretty well to ourselves, though some of them assisted us, and in some places they were in charge. I cannot recollect accurately the sequence of events after this, but from day to day we were fully occupied in attending to the wounded, and never went anywhere without being escorted by a band of amiable ruffians, heavily armed and clad in picturesque bandit sort of costume with *capotes*. They

were chiefly from the country, and they often drew on us a heavy fire, and many narrow escapes we had. There I got my first experience of gunshot wounds and military surgery, and a pretty active commencement it was. I used to go in and out of the room where the Provisional Committee met, and on one occasion was presented by Prince Scordea, who seemed to be the presiding genius, with a decoration, a tricoloured ribbon with a small medal attached to it. I have the ribbon still. I never wore it, but in going about the streets used to carry a bit of tricoloured ribbon on my finger to show any one who challenged me, otherwise I might have been shot by the insurgents. The city was mainly in the possession of the Sicilians, though the fort, the palace, the treasury, and other public buildings remained in the hands of the royal troops.

We continued to live in the Palazzo Buttera, where we were not molested; but the house was frequently in danger from shot and shell from the fort, especially when crowds assembled. At length it became quite impossible to remain any longer, and Lord Mount-Edgcumbe was advised to take his family on board H.M.S. Bulldog, Captain A. Cooper Key, which, with the Gladiator and subsequently the Vengeance, was lying in the harbour watching events. I never could understand the position. Our ships came into the Bay and certainly seemed to sympathise with the Palermitans, but I fear these good people were disappointed that they did so little.

Just at the time the party were getting ready to leave the house and go on board the Bulldog, a heavy fire was going on from the fort, and the shells were either falling near or passing over our house, making a frightful noise. Some 13-inch shells fell in the piazza and made deep holes in the ground. Several other English people had collected in the house, and as we were on the point of leaving a cry was raised that somebody had been wounded. A young man had gone up to a little square turret that opened on to the roof, and just as he stepped out on to it a shell or round-shot struck him and

nearly cut him in two. I was with him almost immediately, and found him lying collapsed, but conscious. He had no pain, was sinking rapidly, said he could not see, and died almost immediately. It was very sad, and impressed every one deeply, but I was getting accustomed to such sights. All this time the shot and shell were passing over the house, shrieking and bursting in all directions.

Lord Mount-Edgcumbe made no objection to my remaining on shore, as he knew I was usefully employed. I went off occasionally to see him and to report progress. He was much interested in the proceedings and tried to act as mediator, entering into correspondence with both sides. The Sicilians obtained possession of the royal palace, the troops occupying it retreating before them. It was sad to see the havoc wrought by the insurgents amongst the furniture, beautiful pictures, marbles, and agate tables. There had already been considerable destruction of life and property. The people were highly incensed against the Bourbons: everything appertaining to royalty was destestable to them and was destroyed. The *sbirri* were objects of intense hatred, and were killed whenever they were caught. On more than one occasion I met a wretched-looking creature, ghastly with terror, being hurried along by a band of insurgents, and a few minutes later a fusilade in the next open space told his fate, but I fear they were not always so promptly and mercifully dealt with. Those Southern people, when their passions are roused and when once they have tasted blood, are demons incarnate, and the women became as bad as the men. Once in a square I came upon the body of a Neapolitan *sbirro*. I do not know how he had been killed, but a woman was tearing out his entrails and shouting some horrid imprecations as she did so, the rest joining in the orgy. Another time I saw some boys—quite children—who had cut pieces of flesh from a dead Neapolitan, and were carrying them about, shouting "Un bajocco il rottolo!" Many atrocities of this kind were committed by the lower classes.

There were no regular troops among the insurgents, and it was wonderful how they—irregular and undisciplined as they were—succeeded as they ultimately did in completely overcoming the Neapolitans. The royal troops in the fort, under Colonel Gross, a Swiss officer, made several formidable attacks on the town by shelling it, but in the end they too had to give in. A fleet of Neapolitan war-steamers came off the town and landed a large body of troops, but did not bombard it, and I wonder they did not. They only fired a few shots up some of the streets. I think, notwithstanding what was said against King Ferdinand, considerable forbearance was shown. Possibly the presence of the English ships may have had something to say to it. Captain S. Lushington of H.M.S. Vengeance was senior officer, and we saw a good deal of him, as he often visited Lord Mount-Edgcumbe. Later, when firing was going on between the Molo and Castel a Mare, he did interfere and brought about a cessation of hostilities for a time. Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, who took from the beginning the greatest interest in Sicilian affairs, had on one occasion when the firing first began wished to be wheeled in his chair into the streets under a heavy fire, to try if possible to do something to mitigate the troubles. I offered to accompany him if he went, but he was dissuaded. He could do no good, and the shooting of an English peer, which would have been the probable result, must have made matters worse. He continued throughout to take the deepest interest in the progress of affairs, and did his best to improve matters. It was characteristic of the race, that nearly the whole time fighting was going on in the streets, the opera was kept open. Parodi was just coming out at that time, and was prima donna. Of course there were patriotic songs and allusions, and vociferous excitement prevailed. I used to walk in and out as I liked, and had the *entrée* everywhere. Already the Provisional Government had offered me any position as a medical officer that might suit me, but I of course declined, saying that my object was simply to assist

the sick and wounded, and that I could not take service under any foreign Government. The leading men were full of hope of gaining their independence, which they did for a short time; but subsequently all was changed and Neapolitan rule re-established. During the fighting I had several narrow escapes. One day when on the pier a bullet flattened itself against the wall within a few inches of my head. I had many others, but none so close as this.

After things had apparently quieted down somewhat, it was decided that the party should return to the palazzo, the Bulldog having been ordered off to Naples with despatches. Preparations were made to go on shore, and Miss Feilding, Miss Macdonald, the boys and their tutor, and I left the ship. We had hardly landed when a heavy fire was opened by a masked battery near the pier on the citadel, Castel a Mare, which immediately returned it with round shot, shell, and grape. Our route lay across the line of fire. We got safely to the house, when the shells from Castel a Mare began to fall on and near it. The upper story was soon knocked to pieces, the windows were driven in by the concussion of the bursting shells, and the people had to leave it. I got them all near the wall by the fireplace, out of the way of the shells and bits of broken glass which were flying in all directions; and then having barricaded the windows of the ground-floor with mattresses, took them below, where they were safe. As soon as the fire had lulled sufficiently we left the house. We had nothing to fear from the insurgents, and we went through sheltered side-streets to the American Consulate, which was not under fire. Of course the fire had prevented the rest of the party landing, and they were in the greatest anxiety about us. On our way, in turning down a side-street near the palazzo, we came on a ghastly sight. A shell must have fallen on some men, whose blood was lying in pools in the road along which we had to pass. We got safely to the Consulate, where I left them and went back to see what could be done at the house. Soon after this the fire ceased, and I established

communication with the ship and reported all well. The rest of the party soon came on shore. We were amused, during the thickest of the fire, when shells were bursting on and near the house, by our French cook. He was in a state of frantic excitement, rushing about with a carving-knife in his hand: what he meant to do with it was not very obvious. We tried to tranquillise him, but with little success.

Soon after this, the Bulldog's departure having been postponed, we returned on board, and shortly left in her for Civita Vecchia on our way to Rome. I was sorry to leave, as my life had been one of great interest and useful work, giving me valuable experience. Mott remained, and we never met again.

During my stay in Palermo I had opportunities, despite the troubles, of seeing many places in its vicinity—Santa Rosalia, Morreali, the cathedral, and the *Ziza*, an old Moorish palace. It is a lovely place, and Moorish rather than European in the character of its scenery and even in climate.

At Rome we took up our abode in the Villa Aldobrandini, a charming house with a beautiful garden, upon the Quirinal near the Pope's palace, and very delighted I was with the beauty and antiquities of the Eternal City. We arrived in Rome early in April 1848, and the air was then full of political excitement and rumours of coming changes. Everything was in a state of disquietude and unrest. I shall not attempt to dwell upon the various political events, but shall confine myself to matters with which I was personally concerned. One of the first things I did when we had settled down was to find out all about the hospitals and medical schools and the university. I visited the hospitals of San Giovanni in the Corso and Santo Spirito in Trastevere, and became a regular attendant at the latter. Having entered as a student at the university, I attended lectures on medicine and other subjects, and was deeply interested in one course of lectures on archæology by

Professor Orioli, several of which he prefaced with the words, "L' uomo è sempre stato e sempre sarà lo stesso." I made acquaintance with several other professors and students. My Italian and Latin were progressing, for I had an excellent tutor, with whom I read both diligently—Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Goldoni, Alfieri, Monti, and Virgil and Horace. I was acquiring not only a fair knowledge of the language, but a good accent and familiarity with the idiom.

In January 1849 I underwent examination in the university. The examiners giving me my preference as to language, I chose Italian, helped out with Latin and French. They very courteously consented, and after a long and, as it seemed to me, searching examination, they expressed themselves satisfied. There was some difficulty in obtaining permission to be examined, on account of my being a Protestant; but they were liberal, and the Pope was away at Gaëta. My good friend Dr Pantaleone used his interest with the chancellor of the university, Cardinal Riario Sforza, and permission was accorded. In February I was summoned to receive the degree of M.D., and was formally admitted. In 1872, on my way home from India, I went to the university with Dr Pantaleone, who had then become a man of great importance in the political world, and was shown the register in which my name was enrolled as a doctor of medicine, and there it is now. I suppose I was then, and am perhaps still, the only doctor of the university not a Roman Catholic.

I had much to interest me in addition to my hospital and linguistic studies. I frequented all the galleries, studios, public buildings, churches, and antiquities in and about Rome, and made the acquaintance of several artists, one of whom, Mr Westmacott, was engaged upon two statues of barons for the House of Lords. I also knew Gibson, who was then in the full tide of his success as a sculptor. He had just introduced his new idea of tinting and gilding the statues. I often watched his work with great interest,

and one day when he was engaged on a bas-relief, pondering over an idea for an addition to a group of mythical figures, he asked me if I could help him. I suggested Neptune striking the earth with his trident and producing the horse. He seemed pleased with the idea and said he would adopt it, but I don't know if he ever did so. A German artist suffered from neuralgia, from which I relieved him, and he presented me with medallions of Thorwaldsen's Night and Morning. I always had a taste for drawing, and there are sepia drawings of mine still in existence which show that capacity was not absent.

I frequently visited the churches of St Peter, San Giovanni in Laterano, San Pietro fuori le muri, and many others, and knew them all well. I was also acquainted with the picture-galleries and knew something about art, was very fond of the Colosseum and Pantheon, and often visited them, the Catacombs, and the Columbariæ.

We made frequent expeditions to the Campagna on horseback, and sometimes went out with the hounds; and many a long ride I have had where we met scarcely any one except the shepherds and their half-wild dogs. We visited Tivoli and its waterfalls, the tomb of Hadrian, Frascati, Grotto Ferrato, and Albano and Gensano with their beautiful lakes, in the former of which I often had a good swim, and other places of interest in the neighbourhood, and very much enjoyed these expeditions.

During the summer months, when Rome became very hot, we went to live at Albano. It was here that I made acquaintances who influenced the course of my future career. Lady Malcolm and her daughters were living in the hotel. We became intimate, and often rode together. On one occasion one of the young ladies was taken suddenly very ill. Their physician happening to be away, Lady Malcolm asked me to see her, and I was fortunately able to be of service. The mother was much pleased, and was most kind: she said she would try and get me an appointment in India. She was the widow of

the distinguished Indian general Sir John Malcolm, and had great influence. We also became acquainted with the Duca di Sforza Cesarini, who lived at Gensano. A beautiful road led there, past the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii, with fine chestnut, olive, and ilex woods, lovely wooded heights beyond the lake, and the low-lying Campagna stretching away to the sea on the other side. The duchess was an English lady, and they had one son, the young duke, a little boy in those days. The Doria family also had a palace near us in Albano where there were sometimes receptions. On one occasion we all went to the Sforza's house, Ardea, near Ostia, on the sea-shore, where, amongst many other things, we were interested in seeing the herds of buffaloes which were feeding there. The mothers were penned up in one stockaded enclosure, while the calves were in another. When they were called out to be milked, each buffalo answered to its name, shouted out by the herdsman from the top of the entrance, and the calves, recognising their mothers' names, came out from another enclosure and joined them. It appeared that on the occasion of a former visit of the family, Master Francesco had got into some childish trouble: the herdsman, hearing of this, had commemorated the event by calling a new-born buffalo calf "È cascato in disgrazia il signorino"! It was very funny to see the mother and calf push their way out of the pen in answer to their long name.

It was after we had returned from Albano that the troubles began to thicken in Rome. Discontent with the Pope and his advisers was widespread: a civic guard had been organised, and the troops were in constant movement. Trouble also came from the direction of Naples, and the Romans fought with the Neapolitans. There was one considerable skirmish outside the Porta San Giovanni. Much excitement prevailed, and there were frequent manifestoes addressed to the people, always headed S.P.Q.R. Addresses from the Capitol, appeals to tradition and ancient history, were constantly stirring up the inhabitants to a state of turbulence.

Many visitors now left Rome: we, however, remained. Italy was in a blaze of revolution: not only Naples but the north was disturbed by constant fighting, and Venice was in a state of siege. We were now living in the Palazzo Spinola, near the Piazza Barberini. I often used to visit the gallery there, where the gems amongst many beautiful pictures are the Cenci, and the Aurora painted on the ceiling.

I was present on November 15, 1848, in the crowd near the National Assembly when the Senator Rossi was stabbed as he ascended the staircase of the Chamber of Deputies, and I well remember the horror that this assassination caused. I was also on the Quirinal Hill the day after, when the people and the civic guard assembled in great numbers to demand the nomination of a new Ministry by the Pope. The crowd were pressing round the door: I saw the halberd of one of the Swiss guards struck down, when there was immediately a cry of "To arms!" The palace was quickly surrounded by armed men, who fired upon it. The firing on both sides was very heavy: some of the assailants were killed or wounded, and the Pope's Latin secretary, Palma, was shot dead in the palace. During the evening the *émeute* ceased and the people dispersed. The same night the Pope in disguise made his escape to Gaëta, aided by the wife of the Bavarian ambassador. When it was discovered the next day that he had gone, there was a universal cry from the people that the "santo padre" had deserted them! I thought it was not to be wondered at, seeing how they had treated him. A few days after this a singular and most rare display of the aurora borealis was witnessed in Rome, lasting for many hours. The whole sky was lit up with corruscations of a crimson colour, giving the appearance of a conflagration, for which at first it was mistaken. The people were awestruck, and looked upon it as the herald of some visitation of divine displeasure for their treatment of the Pope.

There was continual disturbance and fighting in the city.

The streets were barricaded, the walls fortified, and places likely to be attacked were strengthened. The civic guard paraded the streets, and all was excitement. On February 19, 1849, the Papal Government having fallen, Rome had been declared a republic under a triumvirate—Armellini, Galletti (replaced by Mazzini), and Saffi. Notwithstanding the troubles the Carnival took place, and the amusements were carried on as usual. We drove through the Corso, saw the pelting with sweetmeats—the *confetti* and *mocoletti*—and watched the races of riderless horses urged along by spiked balls suspended by strings. From Monte Pincio we saw the illuminations, but missed the *girandola*—a blaze of fireworks from Sant' Angelo, which did not take place this year. We went to the masked balls and theatres, and wore masks and dominoes like the rest.

Soon after this the French appeared upon the scene. We heard that they had landed at Civita Vecchia, and were in full march upon Rome. Great preparations were made to resist them. An advance-guard under General Oudinot appeared under the walls near the Porta Cavallegieri—where they were again met by the *bersaglieri* of Garibaldi, whom they had frequently repulsed. On hearing of their approach, I made my way out to the Ponte Sant' Angelo, and got to the wall near St Peter's, where the French and Romans were engaged, the latter returning the French fire from some field-pieces mounted on the wall behind fascines and sand-bags. In one of the batteries here I had a very narrow escape: a shot dismounted the gun of the battery, and killed and wounded some men,—I, however, was untouched. The fight continued for some time; but the French were not sufficiently strong, the advance-guard was repulsed, and lost several men killed and wounded. After the firing ceased they sent in a flag of truce, and asked for medical assistance. This was immediately granted, and ere long several dead and wounded French officers and men were brought into the hospital of the Santo Spirito. Among them I observed the body of one

very fine young French officer who was shot through the head.

On this occasion I was introduced to Garibaldi and his chaplain, the Padre Ugo Bassi, dressed in military costume with a sword. This gentleman was afterwards taken and shot by the Austrians. The French had retreated upon the main body of the army after this, and did not renew the attack upon Rome for some time.

Soon Rome became too hot to hold us, and we made our preparations for leaving it. I must revert to some incidents during my stay there.

Some time after Lady Malcolm told me she had asked for an Indian appointment for me, she received the offer of one, and asked me if I wished to accept it. It was a strange coincidence that at this time Lord Mount-Edgcumbe reminded me that the period for which I had undertaken to remain with him had expired, and he felt that he had no right to detain me any longer from my naval duties. He spoke most kindly and appreciatively, and said how glad he would have been could I have remained with him. I had been with him during a critical period, knew he had confidence in me, and was much attached to him, so without hesitation I told him at once I would not leave him, at any rate, till he was back in England. He knew nothing of Lady Malcolm's efforts on my behalf. He seemed pleased at my decision, and relieved. I then told Lady Malcolm that I must decline the offer with many thanks, and explained my reason for doing so. She was very good, and said that if at any future time I wished it, she would try to get the offer renewed; so for the present the matter ended.

There was a good deal of English society in Rome, but it was fluctuating and unsettled. There were receptions and entertainments both in English and Italian houses. I went a good deal to the theatres, where Goldoni and Alfieri were then being acted: they were very useful in giving me a good knowledge both of pronunciation and idiom. Amongst other interesting persons whose acquaintance I made was

Cardinal Mezzofanti of the Propaganda, who was the greatest living linguist. I had frequently seen Pio Nono in his drives through the city, and on one occasion met him walking not far from the Quirinal. He was a very mild and benevolent-looking old gentleman. The bulls of the Immaculate Conception and the Papal Infallibility had not then been issued. In the early days cardinals were to be seen out walking, known by their red stockings and the deference with which they were still treated. The functions and ceremonies of the Church interested me much, especially those during the Holy Week, the tenebræ and the music in the Sistine Chapel, the apostles' supper, and the washing of the feet, the general benediction of the people, and other ceremonies peculiar to the season. The penances on the Scala Santa amused me, where I often watched the people going up and down the staircase on their knees, and I sympathised with Charles Dickens in the description of this ceremony in his 'Pictures from Italy.' My chief guide-book to Rome was Madame de Staël's 'Corinne,' and an excellent one it was. It was recommended to me by Miss Feilding, to whom I was indebted for much sympathetic help and encouragement in my studies. I read a good deal of Italian literature in those days—enough, at any rate, to give me a fair insight into the habits and language of the people. I felt rather sad when I went to look into the Fontana di Trevi by moonlight, the night before we started, and wondered then if I should ever come back again. I did, many years afterwards, and then the dearest of all faces looked into it with me, and I felt the augury on leaving it had not been unpropitious.

We left Rome with regret, for our stay there had been a time of great interest and excitement and of sympathy with the Romans. I had gained considerable experience in professional subjects, especially in malarial fever and military surgery. But under any circumstances, no one could live in Rome so long without becoming devoted to it. We had some difficulty in procuring horses to get away, when

we left on 8th May 1849. We took the road by Viterbo to Civita Vecchia, the direct road being obstructed by the French army. We spent one night at Viterbo, where I saw the celebrated Bulicame, a hot spring, where the water, boiling up in quantities from the volcanic soil, on cooling deposits the white efflorescence which looks like snow, covering the ground for a large space in the vicinity.

On arriving at Civita Vecchia we found it filled with French troops. We embarked in a steamer for Genoa, where Lord Hardwicke, who was commanding a ship of war, came to see Lord Mount-Edgcumbe. We spent a few days at Genoa, and visited several galleries and other places of interest. There had been a good deal of fighting here, and many of the buildings had suffered. The walls of the Villa Doria had been injured by shot. The university was closed; the times were too troublous for ordinary business. Here I saw a sad but impressive sight, a military execution of a sergeant *fourrier*, who was condemned to death for striking a superior officer. General la Marmora was commanding at Genoa at the time. I got up early in the morning and went to the glacis of the fortification outside the city, where the execution was to take place. The troops, to the number of some thousands, were paraded there. In a short time the culprit appeared in full uniform. The troops were assembled in the form of a square, the general and his staff being in the centre. He marched boldly up to the general and, I think, knelt while his sentence was read. After this he presented a small bouquet of flowers to the general, who accepted it. He was then placed opposite the firing-party and told to kneel: his coffin was close at hand. He showed no sign of trepidation, and did promptly what he was told. A minute after he fell dead under the volley, and a final shot was fired by the provost-marshal. The troops were marched past the body at a quick step and then dispersed. It was a very sad sight, and caused much sympathy with the sufferer, who had been a gallant soldier and done good service during the war. In a tavern brawl he had

struck a captain, and the court-martial had no alternative; but he was treated with all consideration and military courtesy to the last. I am not sure, but my impression is that the general and others shook hands with him. He was a young man of about thirty, and looked like a gentleman. I felt intensely sorry for him. The churches on the way by which he went to his last parade were hung with black on the outside, and absolution was given him as he passed. I went back saddened and shocked. I had seen men killed in action, and die in their beds, but had never seen life taken thus deliberately before, and could not help feeling that such lessons are of doubtful efficacy, though in war-time especially, rigid discipline may exact them.

We left Genoa soon after this, and travelled along the Cornice to Nice. The scenery was charming; the orange-trees were in blossom and in fruit at the same time, and the perfume was delightful. The blue Mediterranean on one side, and the picturesque hills on the other, clothed with vegetation and dotted with cottages and villas, varied the scenery. We passed through the place where Columbus was born, San Remo, Mentone, Monaco, where we stopped some hours, and Bordighera, where the palms grow abundantly, a remnant of the African flora of past times. Among several roadside chapels I noticed one with the following inscription, which may be either Latin or Italian: "In mare irato, in subita procella adoro te nostra divina stella." We stayed a day or two at Nice, a bright-looking place shut in by hills, and—as it struck me—of a very variable climate, drove on through Antibes, where Napoleon landed when he came from Elba, and so to Cannes, which consisted then of only a few houses. From there we continued our route with very short halts till we got to Vichy, where Lord Mount-Edgcumbe intended to drink the waters.

My patient made up his mind to remain for some time, when the rest of the party left us and went to England. Here I took leave of my friend Miss Feilding and never saw her again. The time came at length for us to follow, and

we drove on through France, spending one night at Nîmes, where we saw the Maison Carrée, the amphitheatre, and the hot springs. Passing through Allier, we at last arrived in Paris, and went to the Hôtel Meurice. It was a very hurried visit, and Paris was then in a disturbed and unsettled condition, after the election of Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic, and there was no inducement to remain. We went on, arrived in England, and went to Cowes, where I met Lord Mayo, a tall, handsome young man, some three or four years older than myself. I little thought under what circumstances we should meet again in later years.

An epidemic of cholera was raging in England, and we had news of its great severity in Plymouth and in the neighbourhood of Mount-Edgcumbe, where numbers of people were dying. Lord Mount-Edgcumbe was much concerned, and decided that his presence at Mount-Edgcumbe would be beneficial at such a time. Plymouth looked like a city of the plague,—the shops were closed, the signs of mourning were general. About Mount-Edgcumbe the disease was very bad. Several people had died, some very suddenly: in some cases the sufferers were struck down and died without any of the ordinary external symptoms of cholera. The epidemic was most severe and the mortality great. We remained at Mount-Edgcumbe, which is a lovely place on the Bay of Plymouth. The arbutus and the cork-tree grow on the slopes, and the surroundings generally of the place are charming. The cholera passed away at last and we escaped, but it was a very anxious time.

Meanwhile I had been considering my future plans, having almost made up my mind not to rejoin the navy. I had written to Lady Malcolm, who was still in Italy, asking her if she could get me another appointment to India, as she had offered to do. I did not hear from her for some time, and meanwhile had made other arrangements. There was a detachment of artillery on duty at Maker, not far from the Park. Lord Mount-Edgcumbe used to invite the officers to the house, and on one occasion at dinner the colonel asked

me why I did not join the artillery. I replied that I should be very glad to do so, but that it was a very difficult service to get into and required special interest, the vacancies few and the candidates numerous. It was a separate branch of the service, and was known as the Ordnance Medical Department. The conversation then changed, and nothing more was said at the time.

Soon after this Lord Mount-Edgcumbe told me he had written on the subject of my joining the artillery to the Marquess of Anglesea, the Master-General of the Ordnance, who wished me to go to London and see his private secretary. I left for London that night, and went to the Ordnance Office (now the War Office) in Pall Mall. (It was my duty to inspect this place many years after and condemn it on sanitary grounds.) I saw Lord Clarence Paget, the private secretary, who said the Master-General was most anxious to oblige Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, but there were great difficulties in the way. The limit of age for admission to this service was twenty-five years: I was twenty-five the next month. There was a list of accepted candidates who were taken in order, and vacancies were very few. On hearing my age he said he did not think it was possible, but told me to go to Woolwich and see Sir John Webb, the head of the Ordnance Medical Department, and see what he thought about it. This was only a polite way of getting rid of me, as what could Sir John Webb say? However, I went, and saw him and my old Bermuda friends Hassard and Fogo. They all told me it was quite hopeless, even if I had a year instead of a month to spare in age.

I returned to town rather discouraged. My birthday came and passed. I was twenty-five years of age on December 6, 1849, and about a fortnight later I got a note from Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, enclosing one from the Marquess of Anglesea to this effect, "A fortunate occurrence in the Ordnance Medical Department has enabled me to give Mr Fayrer an appointment." "The fortunate occurrence" was the death of a surgeon of artillery in the West

Indies. I did not hear then what became of the other candidates, but, as will appear, I myself made room for one of them. At any rate my appointment was made out—antedated to my birthday—and I went down to Woolwich to report myself to Sir John Webb, who seemed as much astonished as did Sir Edward Parry and Sir John Richardson at Haslar when I went to them at night and told them I had been ordered to London by the First Lord of the Admiralty. I was posted to Dr Staunton's division at Woolwich Hospital, and immediately set about furnishing my quarters in the Horse Artillery Square, and procured my uniform of dark blue with heavy gold epaulettes. This made a sad inroad upon my small exchequer, on which there were many demands. My pay was 6s. 6d. a-day, out of which I had to provide for mess, a servant in livery, and a variety of other things.

Before going to Woolwich I went to say good-bye to Lord Mount-Edgcumbe and his family, and was very sorry to take leave of my kind friends. I had omitted—most fortunately for myself—to do one thing which I ought to have done when appointed to the artillery, namely, to write to Lady Malcolm. Why the omission was fortunate will appear presently.

My servant, Michael Jolly, was a character and an excellent fellow. One night, coming home late from London, and being hungry, I told Jolly to get me some supper, and he came back after a while with what was required. It appeared afterwards, and it became a good story at Woolwich, that, finding the baker's shut—it was too late for the mess—he had knocked up the people in the shop, and told them in an important tone of voice that he required bread for the army! I need scarcely say he was an Irishman!

My duty consisted in going round the wards, prescribing for the patients—in fact, much the same as it had been at Haslar, while I took my turn as medical officer for the day. I here first saw the military punishment of flogging, in the

riding-school, and very disgusting I thought it, but not so bad as the naval flogging I had seen on board men-of-war. I also saw a deserter branded with the letter D, tattooed on his arm with needles and Indian ink, and nearly got into a scrape on another occasion by omitting to superintend this operation. I considered it derogatory to the position of a medical man to do so: the feeling was probably shared by others, for nothing was said to me officially, though I was told of all sorts of dreadful things that would result. I went through the regular drill in the riding-school, became a pretty good horseman, and knew the exercises fairly well; was a regular *habitué* of the gymnasium, and became quite expert at most of the exercises. Sergeant-Major Tuohy, the head of the gymnasium, was a small man, very active and strong, a splendid swordsman, and famous as a light-weight pugilist. I used to put on the gloves with him, and he thought me a promising pupil. He said one day, "I don't mind boxing with you, sir, but I am getting too old to stand the heavy officers." I met him again, twenty-three years afterwards, at Southsea, as a swimming-master at the public baths. He was well over seventy, but was still active and vigorous: he taught three of my boys to swim.

After I had been at Woolwich nearly four months rumours arose that the Ordnance Medical Department was likely to be reduced in numbers, and it was not long before the confirmation of this came. I received an official letter from the Director-General, saying that in consequence of necessary changes, I as junior officer was to be temporarily retired, though, my conduct being satisfactory, in a short time I might hope to be brought again on the establishment. This perturbed me much, for I did not quite see what I was to do until reinstated. I was sitting in my room thinking over the future on the day following, when a servant entered with a letter from Lady Malcolm's sister, to the effect that she had just got the promise of an Indian appointment for me from a director, and she wanted to see me

immediately in London. The servant said he had taken two days to find me. This seemed an interposition of Providence on my behalf. I went to town and saw Lady Macdonald, who gave me a letter to Sir R. Campbell, the director who had nominated me. I went there immediately, received my appointment to Bengal as an Assistant Surgeon, and returned to Woolwich to wind up my affairs and take leave of my friends. I wrote to thank the Director-General for his kindness, saying I relinquished any further claim on the Ordnance Department. This made a place for the first candidate on the list, who was very shortly called to fill the vacancy. My friends all congratulated me, saying how much better the Indian appointment was than the artillery, and thought me fortunate.

On entering the artillery I had passed another examination before Sir John Webb, making the second of the kind; but there was a third in store for me by Dr Scott, the physician to the India House, who gave me a long examination, chiefly on diseases of the heart. He dismissed me at last, saying he was much pleased, and asking me to write to him from India. I did so, but never heard from him and never saw him again.

On taking leave of my old friend and teacher, Guthrie, he was quite affected and said, "You will come and see my niche in Kensal Green when you come back from India."

There was much to be done before leaving England—friends and family to see, and outfit to procure. I had had so many expenses lately that the latter was rather difficult. On the 29th June 1850 I left Gravesend in the Camperdown, East Indiaman, Captain H. Denny, for Calcutta, in medical charge of between 250 and 300 recruits for the artillery and European regiments in India. The head-money for these enabled me to pay my passage out and furnished me with a little money on my arrival. I took leave of my mother, and my father accompanied me to Gravesend and saw me off.

The Camperdown was a good sailer and very comfortable.

We had the recruits I have mentioned with a captain and two subalterns besides myself, a certain number of passengers and soldiers' wives and children. I selected an artillery recruit who had been a medical student as my sick-bay man, and established a regular system of daily inspection. We had a good passage, and did not call anywhere—in fact, we saw no land until we sighted Ganjam on the Madras coast. Only one recruit died, of consumption; the rest landed in good health and in excellent order. At first the young soldiers were very insubordinate, and the commanding officer, who was not a disciplinarian, candidly admitted he could do nothing with them, and asked me if I would try to get them into order, the subalterns only attending to their occasional drill. I began by putting a few of them—the ringleaders—in irons, and when they found they were not to have their own way they soon gave in, and all went well through the voyage. The Kent, which started at the same time and under the same circumstances, arrived in the Hoogly, I was told, with the men in a state of mutiny, and some of the officers locked up in their cabins.

I was much interested with my first experience of the sandheads and the Hoogly, the dark-skinned native boatmen and their boats. We anchored and stopped a night at Diamond Harbour, where I landed for the first time in India, and took a walk: this must have been on the 7th of October. The next day we went up as far as the Fort Gloucester Mills, where I went on shore and inspected some cotton mills then at work. It was very hot and stuffy, the mosquitoes were troublesome, and the noise of other insects aided them to keep us awake at night. We got up to Calcutta and anchored off Prinsep's Ghât. Staff officers came on board to receive us, and the men were all landed. My three companions accompanied me to report our arrival at Fort William, and from this day, October 9, 1850, my Indian service began.

CHAPTER III.

SERVICE IN INDIA AND BURMAH.

The Bishop of Calcutta—Visit to the Medical Board—Quartered at Dum Dum—Sent to Chinsurah—Appointed to Sylhet Light Infantry battalion and civil station of Cherra Poonjee—Residents there—Description of that station and its heavy rainfall—Journey into Assam with Colonel Lister—Severe attack of malarial fever—Pass colloquial examination in Hindustani—Appointed to charge of 74th Native Infantry at Dacca—Shooting, hunting, and racing—Expedition in boats on the river with invalids—Great mortality from cholera—Ordered to join the Burmese Field Force as field assistant surgeon—Return to Calcutta, short stay there—Voyage to Rangoon—Attack on the Thilawa stockade—Capture of Rangoon—Taking of White House picket and great pagoda—In charge of field hospital—Meeting with General Godwin—Appointed medical storekeeper and civil surgeon of Rangoon—Description of the Burmese—Study Burmese—Visit to Amherst and Moulmein—Letter from Governor-General conferring appointment of residency surgeon of Lucknow—Return to Calcutta—Pass Hindustani at the college—Journey to Lucknow viâ *Cawnpore—Assume office of residency surgeon.*

WE went to the old bishop's palace in Russell Street, then Mrs Herring's boarding-house. My first impressions of the climate were that it was unendurable: however, early the next morning the air was fresh and bright. The door of our sitting-room opened on to a landing at the top of the first flight of stairs, and here I saw an old gentleman dressed in black, of small and slight figure, with a very energetic and bright expression of countenance. He greeted me and said, "I am the bishop," and I invited him to come in and

sit down. He did so, and asked me my name. I told him. "What is his name?" pointing to one of my companions, who, hearing the voices, had come out of his bedroom. "That is Mr Moore of the —th Regiment." "And a very fine-looking soldier you are, Mr Moore." Moore recognised him as Dr Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, and said, "I am glad to see your lordship looking so well." "I am not well, I am a poor, feeble old man." He did not think so, and did not like any one but himself to say it. Then, turning to me, he said, "This is my house; it is let to this good lady, Mrs Herring, and I like to come and see if it is in order." By this time my other companion came in, and after chatting for some time, the bishop wished us good morning, and went away. He was really one of the first persons I spoke to on my arrival in India. He was well known, not only for his many excellent qualities but for his eccentricities.

After being kindly received by Dr Forsyth, the secretary to the Medical Board, I went to Fort William to make over my recruits, and took occasion to draw attention to an artilleryman who had shown some symptoms of insanity on the voyage, and pointed out that he needed careful watching. They sent him off, however, with the others to Dum Dum, where, a few days afterwards, he put on full uniform, walked into a tank, and drowned himself. My reports were deemed satisfactory, and I got considerable credit for landing my men in good condition. My head-money was something over 2000 rupees, and seemed a very large sum, for it was paid in silver.

After doing duty in the hospital at Dum Dum for a few days, I was ordered to proceed to Chinsurah to join the depot there. Shortly after this I went to ask the permission of the Medical Board to accompany my Camperdown companions up country. On being introduced into the board-room, where the triumvirate was sitting, they told me my journal was very good. It struck me they could not have been well treated in the way of journals if they

thought so much of this one. They then asked me what my wishes were. I replied, "To go up country with my friends of the voyage." Dr Forsyth was at the time opening letters: he said, "Here is a vacancy which I think would suit Dr Fayrer; the civil station of Cherra Poonjee and a wing of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion require a medical officer." They consulted a little, and then asked me if I should like to go. I had not the remotest idea where the place was, but, feeling it was a compliment to offer such an appointment to an assistant surgeon just arrived in India, I accepted the offer, and set about making preparations for a journey to the Khasia Hills, which I soon found out were on the N.E. frontier, bordering on Munipore.

The route then was by steamer through the Sunderbuns to Dacca, thence by budgerow, a journey of about three weeks—longer than it would now take to go to Bombay from London. I enjoyed the sail through the wild scenery of the Sunderbuns, and saw much that interested me—the deep and muddy river, the islands in which the low jungle came down to the water's edge, and a variety of birds and animals. Crocodiles were numerous along the river-banks. When pacing the deck early one morning a lascar drew my attention to a tiger leisurely walking along the muddy shore between the water and the dense jungle, about 200 yards off, in a wide reach of the river. Hearing the noise of the paddles he stopped, looked in the direction of the steamer, then turned, deliberately walked into the jungle, and disappeared. I was delighted thus early to see a Bengal tiger. Spotted deer frequently appeared on the margins of the river or in the openings of the jungle. Birds and waterfowl of many kinds abounded, and I shot a fine specimen of the fishing eagle, which the captain stopped the ship to pick up, and I sent it home to the Zoological Society. We used to anchor at night and travel during the day. It was very interesting to listen to the jungle sounds in the silence of the night, and more than once we heard the low moaning whine of the tiger.

We arrived at Dacca in about six or seven days, where I reported myself to the superintending surgeon, and immediately made arrangements for continuing my journey. I hired a budgerow and cook-boat to take me by the Surma and Megna to Teriah Ghât, a journey of about a fortnight. It was a wild and interesting expedition. My boat had two cabins, and the crew was good. During the journey I read D'Aubigné's 'History of the Reformation' as well as other books. The wildfowl were passing over my head in numbers—duck, teal, &c.; and I occasionally landed and shot snipe, plover, blue water-hens, bitterns, paddy-birds, darters, and the little grey kingfisher that hovers so beautifully over his prey and drops on it like a shot; several eagles, ospreys, and others of the falcon tribe. On one occasion I sent one of my men up into a small stunted tree to examine an eagle's nest. There were eggs, and the parent birds at once attacked and would have injured him, so I was obliged to shoot them both, much to my regret. More than once when I had shot a teal or wild duck, a fish-hawk or eagle swooped down and carried it off before the small boat could reach it. One day when walking along a path by the river, hearing a peculiar noise, I turned and close to me saw a cobra with his head erect and hood expanded: I killed it with a charge of shot. This was the first wild snake I had yet seen.

The mode of travelling when there was no wind, or when it was contrary, was by "gooning"—that is, towing the boat against the stream by means of a long rope from the mast-head. The progress was slow, not more than two or three miles an hour; and sometimes when it blew hard I had to halt for some hours, and we always stopped at night, when the men landed and cooked their food on the bank, and a very picturesque little encampment they made.

These rivers are very large, and when the waters are out, look like lakes overspreading the whole country. I used to dine before my men cooked their food, the dinner generally consisting of fowl curry or cutlets, vegetables, and omelets.

Sometimes I sat up to try and shoot the jackals that came down on the bank at night. It was solitary, but on the whole enjoyable, and I made quite a collection of skins. We passed among villages, and there saw the people bathing at the ghâts. Some of our halting-places were terribly infested with mosquitoes, and at one place they were so numerous that they put out the lights and settled upon me in clouds. A mosquito-curtain was of no use. The boatmen suffered as much as I did, and we were glad when we could get away at dawn. The place was known as the Devil's Creek. When we got near Chattock we met boats coming down stream, laden with lime and other commodities, all belonging to a certain "Harry Sahib," whose acquaintance I made subsequently. He was a great proprietor of coal, lime, and oranges, the produce of the Khasia Hills.

I arrived at length at the end of my boat journey, and found two elephants waiting to take me and my baggage across the plain that intervened between the river and the foot of the hills to Teria Ghât on another river. We crossed some very wild country, long grass jungle where tigers were said to be numerous, and a beautiful, clear mountain stream with lovely rapids, down which I on another occasion descended in a canoe. At the foot of the hills a pony awaited my arrival. My servant was to follow, the baggage being carried up the hill by coolies. I mounted the little hill pony, and he set off at a rapid amble along a path which wound through dense forest. I was entirely at his discretion, but felt convinced he was going right, and we soon left the syce behind. The ascent became very steep and zigzag in its course, round spurs and shoulders of hills and across ravines, bringing into view a beautiful panorama of the plains and the rivers below. The vegetation was luxuriant, but became less tropical at a higher elevation. Tree-ferns, orchids, and other plants formed a conspicuous feature in the jungle. At a height of about 4000 feet it began to get cold and misty, causing a feel-

ing of chill, as my clothing was light. The pony went on gallantly, evidently knowing his way, and brought me at length to an outpost where there was a guard of little, dark, Tartar-looking hillmen of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion, who evidently expected me. I was now near the greatest elevation, about 4600 feet, and the road became tolerably level. At length a thatched bungalow came in sight with smoking chimneys. My pony carried me past this and several others, finally stopping at the door of a house on the edge of a gorge, where I was most hospitably received by Cave, the second in command of the regiment and assistant political agent. It was delightful to get into a warm room with a bright coal fire. Mr and Mrs Cave were most kind, and took me in for a few days until I found a small bungalow. There were very few residents in the station. The principal were Colonel Lister, political agent in the Khasia Hills and colonel of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion; Lieutenant and Mrs Cave; Lieutenant and Mrs Raban; the Rev. A. Garstin, chaplain to the station; Lieutenant Turnbull; H. Inglis and his family. This was the "Harry Sahib" of the boats, the Marquess of Carabbas of the district, the proprietor of the coal, the lime, and the oranges. I heard afterwards that the ladies had a committee on me, thought me very young, and were not quite satisfied with the Government for placing an important cantonment under the medical care of so junior an officer. However, if I may judge by subsequent experience, they modified their views!

Amongst the other residents were Dr and Mrs Oldham, who had just come out from England. He was head of the Geological Survey of India, and had commenced operations in this district. We both took much interest in meteorology, and each kept a rain-gauge, and registered a little over 600 inches during the year I was there. No greater rainfall has ever been recorded in any part of the world. I sent a statement of these facts to the Calcutta 'Englishman' in 1851. Most of this occurs between May

and October, the climate during the rest of the year being very agreeable, the heat never at any time excessive. The geographical position and physical characters explain the great rainfall. The station is situated upon a plateau about 4600 feet above the sea, the height at which condensation readily takes place in these latitudes. A few miles farther inland at a greater elevation the rainfall is less than half. The full strength of the south-west monsoon, with all the vapours brought up from the Bay of Bengal and from the low ground between the hills and the sea, are here precipitated in heavy rain, which for between four and five months deluges the place and rapidly descends by torrents and waterfalls to the plains below. The station stands on the brink of the hill-range overlooking the plains of Sylhet, and thus is the first high ground upon which the moisture-laden winds from the Bay of Bengal impinge.

On one side of the station there is a deep gorge covered with vegetation and trees, down which runs a mountain torrent bridged by the aerial roots of the india-rubber, which are trained from trees on either side across the stream at a considerable height above the water. The roots meeting, interlace and form a basket-like bridge of great strength, over which men carry heavy loads. There are also bamboo bridges across other mountain streams. On the other side of the station is a ridge of limestone, in which there are curious faults; and in certain places coal crops up, yielding excellent fuel,—indeed coal and lime are the principal products of the place, though their value is affected by the difficulties of carriage. Near this a swampy stretch of ground, over which at certain seasons the snipe passed in their migrations, gave good sport. The precipitous sides of the station facing the plain are very remarkable, and some of the grandest waterfalls in the world are seen here and there during the rains when the water is hurried in volumes over them, swelling the rivers and inundating

the plains below, which at the height of the rainy season are entirely under water, so that the journey to Sylhet has to be done by boat instead of on horseback as during the dry season. There are also some very interesting caves in the neighbourhood. The vegetation is luxuriant: amongst other plants the wild cinnamon grows profusely, and there is a great variety of trees, tree-ferns and screw pines being conspicuous among them. Orchids of great beauty are found in the woods: of these the *Vanda cærulea*, with its spikes of blue flowers, is the gem. Red and white rhododendrons also flourish in some places. The ground rises again on the inland side of the station, and on the sides of the hills are perched Khasia villages with frequent stone cromlechs, probably ancient burial-places. The Khasis are a hill tribe with the Mongolian type of face and wonderfully muscular legs, the calves being quite a deformity, from the extraordinary development of the muscles, no doubt in some measure due to their constant practice in climbing hills. They carry great weights in conical baskets suspended by a band round the forehead, and they go up the hillsides by straight paths, avoiding the zigzags. There was a story in those days of a very portly officer from Sylhet who was once met on his way up to Cherra in a *tapha* (basket) on a small Khasia woman's shoulders. The women work, indeed, just as much as the men. The road by which I came up was a made road, zigzagging round the hills. The ponies are excellent, and amble at a rapid pace, and when one gets accustomed to them it is astonishing with what speed one can ride up and down the hills.

Cherra has long been abandoned as a station: the houses are deserted and tumbling to pieces. It also suffered severely from the earthquake of 1897. I have been told by men who were there not long before it was given up, that tigers came and prowled about the station at night. During my stay there I saw no trace of a

tiger in or near the station, and no one more thoroughly explored the neighbouring jungle paths. Of course they were common lower down the hill and on the plains of Sylhet, but no one ever dreamt of meeting them in or near Cherra. The sloth bear was met occasionally, though I never saw one. Indeed the dearth of animal life about the place, with the exception of a few birds, was remarkable. Pheasants and snipe were occasionally shot. There were some deer, but I never saw any. Among the other peculiarities of this station during the rainy season was the number of leeches, which found their way everywhere. I have removed them from between the eyelids of the *bhisties*, where they had entered when the *mussacks* were being filled. They were frequently to be seen hanging from the nostrils of the cattle. They are like little pieces of black thread, suck vigorously, and soon attain great size: they abound in the jungle and grass, and it is almost impossible to walk through this without being assailed by them.

I studied Hindustani with one of my native doctors, and had my hospital work, military and civil, to attend to. Not unfrequently severe cases of remittent malarial fever occurred, especially in people who had crossed through the jungle from Gowhatty to Cherra, and the families of the station were also under my medical care. I not unfrequently used to go to Sylhet, where a detachment of the 74th Native Infantry was stationed. Of their officers, Gordon, Hislop, and Smith were all killed at Delhi in 1857.[c] After I had been at Cherra some months, Turnbull, of the Sylhet Light Infantry, joined me in a very nice bungalow. He was a very clever fellow, rather older than myself.

During the cold season Colonel Lister, the political agent, asked me to accompany him on a ride to Assam along the road which he had made some years before. We travelled only about fourteen miles a-day, as our servants had to accompany us with food, cooking utensils, bedding, &c. We found rest-houses on the way, where shelter and beds

were provided, but nothing else. I enjoyed this expedition greatly. Colonel Lister was a charming companion. He had been there many years, had, in fact, subjugated the country, and was a sort of king. The road was adapted for riding only: it was very beautiful, as it wound round the hills, passed by parklike upland country, and then down through deep primeval forests out on to the alluvial plain bordering the Bramaputra river, and on to Gowhatty in Assam. Some halting-places were very picturesque, one especially, Nunklao, on the top of a hill, with a wide view, comprehending on one side the open country, on the other the forest. Here I was kept awake at night by the pipsas, a sort of mosquito, which leave little blood-stained marks wherever they bite. On the hill was a monument to some officers who were killed during the Khasia rebellion. The next noticeable resthouse was Nowgong, in the heart of the forest. I there lay awake at night listening to the forest sounds, elephants moving through the jungle and a tiger moaning in the distance. There were no doors, and the moonlight, glancing through the foliage overhead, fell in the doorway. My imagination pictured a tiger or leopard or some other creature coming in, and once the shadow of some prowling brute was projected across the threshold. At length I fell asleep, and was awakened by my servant bringing me tea. We saw little animal life except a troop of monkeys occasionally, or a bird, such as the toucan. In one place where the road crossed some soft ground with running water, we came on the tracks of a wild elephant, and as the water was still running into them, the animal could not have passed more than a few minutes: probably alarmed at the sound of our coming, he had gone deeper into the forest. We half expected to see him, as the tracks were evidently those of a solitary male. We hurried on, but neither saw nor heard him. It was then I learned that twice the circumference of the elephant's foot is his height. By this measurement this elephant must have been nearly 10 feet high. After leaving the forest we emerged on

the valley of the Bramaputra, and halted at a stage named Ranigodaun. On leaving this rest-house the road was crossed by culverts for drainage, the bridges over which seemed rather slight and out of repair. On approaching one looking rather more shaky than the others, I proposed to cross it first, being a light weight: Colonel Lister, however, pushed on. There was a crash, a cloud of dust, and the colonel disappeared! He had gone right through. Fortunately it was only a few feet deep, and neither he nor the pony was hurt; but he was much disconcerted. I could not help laughing, nor could he after a time!

We arrived at Gowhatty, and went to the house of Colonel Matthie, the commissioner. I was asked to join a party who were crossing the Bramaputra to shoot a rhinoceros, but had not time, and was much disappointed at missing this chance. Colonel Matthie showed us the horns of a cow buffalo he had shot near Dibroghur: they measured many feet from point to point, and are now in the British Museum (amongst the largest on record). The bungalows in Gowhatty are scattered about the station, some on the river-banks, which, like those of other Indian rivers, are receding. The large native town is full of bigoted Hindus, as I judged by the disgusting idol and scenic exhibitions in the bazaar. It happened to be a festival time, and on a densely wooded hill near the town is a very sacred temple and shrine to which Hindus from all parts of India make pilgrimages.

In returning, Colonel Matthie took us some miles down the river in a large state or war canoe. The rowers were numerous, forty or fifty, and were double-banked. One man stood upon a platform near the bow of the boat and chanted to them, they shouting in response and keeping time with their oars. We progressed rapidly and landed at a small station, where we found our ponies and syces waiting. Returning, we took rather a different route. Between Cherra and Nunklao there are two rivers, the Bogapani and the Kalapani, the former of which is crossed by a suspension

bridge: they are very picturesque, as they rush through gorges along the margin of which our road sometimes lay. Landslips are not uncommon, and on some parts of the hillside where the land had slipped during the heavy rains it had been denuded of trees. Floods sometimes occur here in the rains, especially after landslips: the fallen earth for a time obstructs the stream, and when it is suddenly washed away the water bursts its bounds and carries everything with it. In this way the beautiful suspension bridge over the Bogapani and four miles of road entirely disappeared not many months after we passed.

During this expedition I had laid the seeds of mischief, for within a month after my return I got a sharp attack of fever. The jungle road is not considered unhealthy at the time we passed, but the fact is, in such places malaria is never altogether absent: though less active at one season than another, it may at any time produce its ill effects, especially upon a susceptible constitution. I suffered considerably from this fever, and during the first attack was very ill, and was for some time liable to recurrences, which came suddenly and with very little warning, and my spleen became enlarged. The native doctor looked after me, and Colonel Lister gave me Warburg's tincture, which no doubt did me good.

At Cherra I received the ordinary pay of an assistant surgeon, with head-money for the troops under my charge and a small civil allowance. During my stay there I passed the colloquial examination in Hindustani. The examiners were Cave, Raban, and a surgeon of the Bengal Medical Service who happened to come up on leave. I did not, however, give up studying the language, and read the Bagh-o-Bahar and Baital Pachisi with one of my native doctors, as my object was to pass the college in Calcutta.

My sojourn at Cherra was brought to a sudden termination. The 74th Bengal Native Infantry were stationed at Dacca, and were suffering at this time severely from intermittent fever. The surgeon had been invalided, and I was

ordered to assume medical charge of the regiment at once. This, of course, was advancement, and I lost no time in going to Dacca by the same route as I had come, and on October 10, 1851, assumed charge of the regiment. It was cantoned near the town of Dacca, and there was no very obvious reason for its extreme unhealthiness, but nearly the whole regiment was prostrated. It was commanded by Major Oldfield, Anderton adjutant, Milne quartermaster. There were between 400 and 500 men at headquarters, the remainder being at Sylhet or at other outpost duties. With the exception of a few men for orderly work, all the sepoys at headquarters were in hospital. It was very hard work, not merely the professional part of it but the writing of returns and reports. Generally the charge of a native regiment is comparatively light work, but in this instance it was quite the reverse. I bought a horse, a well-known pig-sticker, and Milne and I used to go out coursing with some Rampore greyhounds. Here was my first experience of big-game shooting. We got elephants from the commissariat "Fil Khana" and some from Abdul Gunny. On two occasions we went out after tigers, but did not succeed in finding them. However, I shot my first hog-deer and some hispid hares, and commenced my experience of shooting from the howdah, a form of sport always most congenial to me. I also had my first lesson in pig-sticking, but never cared so much for that as for shooting.

In December orders came from Government that the regiment was to be sent up the river for change of air. I represented to the superintending surgeon the possibility of cholera attacking the regiment if it moved under these conditions, but he said the orders were imperative and we must go, so there was nothing more to be said. A large fleet of native boats was engaged, and into this the men were packed. The healthiest were to attend on the others, and a few who could do duty were to act as orderlies to the commanding officer and myself. There was one native doctor and his assistant. The boats were some forty or

fifty in number, amongst which the men were distributed. Captain Ryley, who commanded the detachment, had a budgerow with his wife; Ensign the Hon. H. Addington and I had another. We were ordered to proceed up the Bourigunga and change ground daily, and it was hoped that thus we might improve the malarial fever cases. The work was very hard, for I had to visit every boat each morning and evening, and in many of them the thatched roof was so low as to necessitate stooping. The men were very tightly packed, the superficial area being small. When we halted every evening, as many as were able landed to get fresh air on the banks, where they cooked their food. On the whole, we got on pretty well for the first few days, though the men detested it and begged earnestly to be taken back. It was monotonous work towing those heavy boats along the banks of the river. The visits to the boats, the administration of remedies, and the writing of records kept me fully occupied.

When we had been out a few days the havildar reported to me early one morning that one of the boatmen had been attacked with cholera. He speedily became collapsed and died. I shall not attempt to describe in detail all that happened: cholera soon raged among the detachment, and sepoys died in numbers. We were under the strictest orders to continue our journey day by day. The men were imploring us to take them back, asking why we persisted in killing them all. I urged on Ryley our immediate return and the dispersion of the men. We sent back to Dacca for orders, but were still told to go on. Cholera grew worse and worse, and my visits to the boats were simply dreadful: the men were rolling about in agony, and the cholera excreta were pouring over the floor as I wound my way amongst them. It was horrible! The dead were getting very numerous, and were now thrown into the river: there was at first an attempt to burn them, but that had been abandoned. I again urged Ryley to return, and told him I would hold him responsible for the loss of life if he did

not do so. He recognised the urgency, and followed my advice. We turned and made for Dacca, and, strange as it may appear, the disease decreased from that time, and had almost ceased when we got back to Dacca. It was remarkable how it had varied during our outward voyage. Some evenings when we halted the cases were doing badly and deaths occurred; on others the cases would be doing well, and there were few new ones. For this there was no obvious reason. The men, fever-stricken and anæmic, were in the worst state to encounter such an ordeal, and they succumbed rapidly. They were much depressed, and never ceased imploring to be taken back: if they had been in better health I believe they would have mutinied. The result justified us in taking on ourselves the responsibility of turning, and no fault was found. It was a disastrous expedition, and cholera completed what fever had begun—the disintegration of the regiment. It was an awful time, and such work as fell to me could only have been done by a young and energetic person; but I was admirably assisted by the native subordinates. I was much exhausted by it all, but got over it, however, very well, and was commended by the authorities. It is to be hoped the experience recorded in my official report was found useful for future guidance!

Soon after my return I heard of the troubles in Burmah, so wrote to Dr Forsyth and asked to be sent with the force going there. My letter had hardly been despatched ere I received a communication from the Medical Board to the effect that I had been selected as one of the field assistant surgeons to accompany the Bengal Division of the Burmah Field Force, and was at once to proceed to Calcutta and report myself for duty. This gratified me very much, the more so that I had been selected, as the men were picked for the field hospital, and that it had been done long before my letter volunteering to go could have reached them. I was speedily relieved by another officer, and made my arrangements to proceed to Calcutta by budgerow, as down-stream

this was the most rapid way of travelling, no steamer going about that time.

I must record a few incidents of my stay at Dacca. Dr Green was then civil surgeon there, and I often went to his hospital and saw his cases and operations. One evening he sent for me to see a man who had just been brought into the hospital, his leg bitten off at the knee by a crocodile.[1] He was swimming a nullah, holding on to a cow's tail, as they often do: he did not let go when he was bitten, and the cow dragged him on shore faint and exhausted. We amputated his thigh, but he died soon after from shock. Crocodiles are very numerous there and also in the Sunderbuns, and bathers were not unfrequently carried off. The bathing ghâts in the villages in the Sunderbuns are generally staked off to prevent these creatures from seizing bathers, but accidents happened occasionally notwithstanding.

It was at Dacca I first made the acquaintance of Dr F. J. Mouat, who was secretary to the Council of Education, and came to Dacca on a tour of inspection. I was much impressed with a speech he made at a distribution of prizes, and often listened to him subsequently with great interest and profit. He was a man of remarkable talent and energy, and was quite one of the most distinguished members of the Bengal Medical Service. He died in 1896. It was some time in March 1852 that I left and had a favourable journey through the Sunderbuns, entering Calcutta by Tolley's Nullah. I lost no time in reporting my arrival and commencing preparations for the Burmese expedition. I went to the Medical College, and obtained permission to go over all the surgical operations on the dead body,—subjects were in great abundance there. I practised on them also with pistol-shots to see the effects of the bullets and the course they took, little thinking how close would be my connection with that college in after-years. I made several additions to my acquaintances in Calcutta—among others, Dr J.

[1] There are no alligators in India, they are all crocodiles. This is *Crocodilus porosus*.

Macpherson, at the General Hospital; Dr E. Goodeve, Professor of Medicine; Dr Frank Macnamara, Professor of Chemistry; and Dr O'Shaughnessy, Professor of Surgery, in the college; also Dr Montgomerie, who was going to Burmah as superintending surgeon of the field force. Drs White, Christison, Bowling, and Govan, who had been appointed like myself field assistant surgeons, were to go together in the Tubal Cain, which was fitted up as a hospital ship. We were to be towed down to Rangoon by H.M.S. Hermes. We sailed in the beginning of April 1852. In a few days we anchored at the mouth of the Irawadi, where the men-of-war and troop-ships were assembled. Dr Montgomerie was with us; and the four assistant surgeons I have mentioned, besides myself, with several warrant medical officers, formed the field hospital staff.

We found several ships of war and other vessels at the mouth of the river awaiting orders. Martaban having been taken, the next move was to be on Rangoon. Shortly after we arrived the Proserpine was sent up the river flying a flag of truce, with Captain Latter and others, who were entrusted with a message to the Burmese authorities at Rangoon. She had not gone very far when a stockade fired on her. This she replied to, and returned to report the violation of the rules of war. They were determined to have war, and so it was determined to give it them. Captain Brooking of the Proserpine on this occasion gave them a lesson: one of his shells blew up a magazine in the stockade, inflicting severe loss. It was decided to send a force up the river at once to destroy the offending stockade. Hearing of this, I asked permission to accompany the force, and was ordered to join the war steamer Phlegethon. She, with H.M. brig Serpent and H.C.S. Fire Queen, were to start immediately. Captain Woodwright and two subalterns, with a company of the 18th Royal Irish, were on board. I had with me two medical subordinates, and took charge of the detachment. We dined together on board the Phlegethon, and were very merry, notwithstanding we

knew that at daylight we were to attack the stockade. When I woke in the early morning the steamer was slowly moving up the river in a dense fog. Some shots were fired at us from the shore, for they heard though they did not see us. Having ascended a short distance, and the fog clearing up, we found ourselves off a large stockade made of teak logs, some little distance from the river-side. The bank was muddy, and there were abattis and a rail in front of the stockade, which was several hundred yards long, one end resting on a narrow nullah with jungle, the other, as far as could be seen in the distance, terminating in a similar manner. We were near the lower end, the Serpent and Fire Queen higher up. Red flags were flying from poles raised upon the stockade, which must have been 18 to 20 feet in height. The enemy immediately opened fire on us with muskets and guns, mounted upon a bank behind the stockade. The ship was cleared for action; on deck the men were at quarters. The steamer had one long big gun working on a swivel on the quarter-deck, smaller guns fore and aft. We immediately replied, and sent our shells crashing through the teak logs. The Serpent and the Fire Queen also kept up a heavy fire for about half an hour. We could see nothing but the flash and smoke of the enemy's guns, as all was hidden behind the stockade. We had some men hit but none killed. When the fire slackened we were ordered to land and escalade the stockade, and having disembarked, we forced our way through the abattis, pulling up the stakes, climbing the rail, and carrying up our ladders to the stockade. Some of our men got round the end resting on the nullah. I and one of the subordinates named Porter were first up with one ladder,—he was a very powerful young fellow. We mounted, and took down the pole and red flag which was flying just above us: we were all rapidly over, a few shots being fired at us as we went in. When we got possession, the enemy, except a few dead Burmese, had disappeared, having bolted into the jungle which lay just behind the open space in the

rear. We immediately set to work to spike the guns, and to set fire to the stockade: having been well dried in the sun, it soon ignited, and in two or three hours became a wall of fire. This was known as the Thilawa stockade. There was another one on the opposite side of the river. They were destroyed, the enemy completely dislodged, and the way made free for the ships to pass up the river to Rangoon, which is about thirty miles from the mouth. The heat during the day was intense, the fatigue and excitement great, and we were occupied all day destroying the stockade and looking for any of the enemy who might be lurking about. I had only a few trivial injuries to attend to; none were killed or seriously wounded. The heat, fatigue, and excitement induced great thirst, and I drank copiously of such water as we found, and got such snatches of food as opportunity offered. In the evening we returned on board the Phlegethon, as we were to move up early the next morning to protect a watering-place near a creek. During the firing from the Phlegethon in the morning, I was standing near the long gun, when a shell burst at the muzzle. The concussion gave my left ear a violent shock; something seemed to give way with considerable pain, and I have been deaf on that side ever since. From this I was inconvenienced throughout the day. On re-embarking in the evening I was feeling very much exhausted, and Captain Niblett of the Phlegethon made me go and lie down in his cabin. I fell into a troubled sleep with horrid dreams, and can remember feeling very ill, rushing up in the night and falling flat on the deck. I then developed all the symptoms of cholera, and lay very ill the rest of the following day; but when the detachment landed I managed to go on shore with them, and soon gathered myself together sufficiently to do all that was required of me.

We occupied a sort of blockhouse, and had to keep a good look-out for the enemy, who were all round us in the low, dense jungle. Our duty was to protect the watering-place. Here I had one or two wounded, and had to

amputate a man's thumb. We were in constant expectation that the Burmese would attack us in force, but they did not do so, though there was some firing upon us from the surrounding jungle. After a day or two Brigadier Warren, commanding the Bengal Brigade, whose acquaintance I had previously made in Calcutta, came on shore to inspect the place with his staff. Woodwright and I asked if we might be relieved, as not only were the men wanting in clothing but several of them were showing symptoms of dysentery. As I was representing this, one of the staff said, "Don't put difficulties in the way," and more to the same effect. I immediately turned to him and said, "What right have you to interfere when I am officially representing a matter of importance to the brigadier?" He was rather taken aback at being spoken to like this by a young assistant surgeon. The brigadier immediately said, "Don't quarrel, gentlemen." I said, "Sir, I have no desire to quarrel. I merely wish this officer to mind his own business, and not to interfere with me when I am addressing you on duty." So it ended. We were relieved, and got back to our own ships. This happened on Saturday, 10th April 1852. Next morning we moved up in sight of Rangoon, and observed how heavily it was stockaded and defended. Fortunate for me that I had got back to my ship, or I should have missed all that followed!

It was Easter Sunday, and the weather was dreadfully hot. It had not been intended to commence operations that day, but the Burmese opened fire upon our ships, and it was impossible to avoid it. Soon the whole fleet—H.M.S. Fox, Commodore Lambert, H.M.S. Serpent, the Feroze, Musaffir, Phlegethon, Fire Queen, Proserpine, and others of the Indian Navy and Bengal Marine—were in action, with the stockades of Rangoon on one side, those of Dalla on the other. We in the Tubal Cain were completely idle spectators for the early part of the engagement, though under fire all the time. I was most anxious to get on shore to begin work, and determined to do so on the first oppor-

tunity. Dalla was taken first, the heavy fire from the Rangoon batteries was next silenced, and a shell from one of our ships fell into a magazine, sending the whole up into the air with a tremendous explosion and great loss of life to the Burmese. Soon after this the troops landed. I now got Dr Montgomerie's permission to go on shore and form a field hospital, and had my eye on a large wooden building, a *poongie* house near the shore, which seemed to me as if it might be adapted for the purpose. Taking with us instruments and necessary apparatus, Dr Bowling and I with some medical subordinates went first, Drs Christison and Govan following. There was still a heavy fire going on, the round-shot coming from guns farther inland, some falling into the river. As we got near the shore a round-shot passed very near us, close over the boat, with its usual terrifying sound. The lascar crew, who had already shown symptoms of fear, were now much alarmed, and ceased pulling. I ordered them to give way and pull in shore, but instead of doing so they began to back and tried to turn the boat. A second order having no effect, as the matter was now getting serious I unshipped the tiller and struck the man pulling the stroke-oar over the head, whereupon he dropped down into the bottom of the boat. The others, thinking the tiller more dangerous than the chance shot, gave way and pulled to the bank, where we landed and proceeded at once to the kioung or *poongie* house. We took possession of it, and began to make arrangements for the reception of the wounded. This was not very far from the White House picket, where heavy fighting soon took place.

The wounded and the sufferers from sunstroke began to come in. The heat was intense, the fierce sun was beating on them, and, clad in red coats with leather stocks round their necks, they suffered severely. The building selected as a field hospital was, as I have said, a kioung or *poongie* house, known as the Bo-ta-toung. It was large, built of teak raised upon piles high above the ground, with an

elaborately carved and pointed roof and ornaments, and was entered by a double staircase. When we took possession the Buddhist priests had all gone, but there were numerous wooden images of Gautama, some richly gilt. We removed all these, cleared out the rooms, and ere long got some cots, medicines, and other necessaries from the Tubal Cain. The first day was one of considerable confusion, but by the next morning things had got a little to rights. A commissiarat agent was detailed for service with us, and necessaries were sent.

All these arrangements fell to me, as I was senior medical officer of the field hospital staff except Dr White, who had remained on board the Tubal Cain, having been appointed to take charge of the convalescent hospital at Amherst. Christison becoming very ill two or three days after landing, was temporarily disabled; Bowling and Govan remained with me, and were most efficient colleagues. I had some capital subordinates, — Fox, Briscoe, Porter, and Leach. Very soon the hospital was in good order, and we managed, though with some difficulty, to get food and hospital necessaries. The commissariat agent, or *gomashta*, was a poor creature and difficult to manage: it was not till threatened with punishment that he comprehended he must obey orders. The hospital coolies also gave much trouble, and several of them were punished before they were got into good order. It was no time for trifling. There was a second, smaller *poongie* house close by, which was made into a native hospital and put under the care of Govan. A large pagoda overshadowed the *poongie* houses, and the jungle encroached upon them and was dense on one side between them and the river, giving considerable cause for anxiety with such an enemy as the Burmese. Sentries were posted round about, but more than one attack was made on us from the jungle. One was so sharp I had to send off to the commodore for assistance. The Fox threw some rockets and fired some rounds of grape into the jungle, and an armed boat was sent to lie off and on

for our protection. The hospital was very soon filled, at first chiefly with men who had been struck down by the fierce sun. Here I got my first experience of sunstroke and the mode of treatment, which consisted mainly in douching with cold water and rousing the prostrated energies. One of the worst cases was that of Brigadier Warren, who was brought in quite insensible and seemed likely to die. I had him well douched with cold water from the *mussacks*, gave him stimulants, and finally roused him by switching with a sweeper's broom. He came round, was much prostrated for some time, but ultimately recovered. He was always grateful, and whenever we met in later days, alluded to my having saved his life. Of the cases brought to the hospital, few were fatal, but some died on the field. We had a number of wounded and several amputations: indeed our hands were full, and the pressure at one time was very great. Donaldson of the Engineers and Blundell of the 51st were mortally wounded, and died in the hospital: they were buried near the pagoda. Trevor of the Engineers was shot through the arm. Haines had a bullet-wound that seemed to have traversed his body, but the bullet had in reality run round under the skin. The hospital was full, and the work was very exhausting in the intense heat. It is right to mention two excellent Roman Catholic priests who appeared in the hospital as soon as the wounded came in: they were Italians, and when I spoke to them in their own language were much pleased. They were most kind, consoling the sick and dying, and in every way doing credit to their office. Our own chaplains were not less zealous, and one especially, from the flagship, was most untiring in his ministrations, and was almost daily at the hospital. I was very proud of my position, for I was literally field surgeon to the Burmese army, ours being the only field hospital. Dr Montgomerie had so many other things to attend to that he could only look in occasionally, and he therefore left the executive charge in my hands. This was in April 1852, so that I was twenty-seven years

FIELD HOSPITAL, RANGOON.

old, and had been an assistant surgeon in the East India Company's service for one year and six months. All the other medical officers except my colleagues were attached to regiments. To our hospital came the greater part of those who were wounded or fell from sunstroke, cholera, or other diseases, during the attack on Rangoon, the White House picket, the pagoda, &c., and a great experience it was for us.

On the 12th April the troops advanced and took the White House picket and other places, and during these operations we lost several men killed and wounded. One very remarkable case occurred: a private was shot in the left shoulder, and the ball penetrated the chest. He was brought to the field hospital with all the symptoms of wound of the lung: air was bubbling out of the wound. He did well, and in course of time was transferred to the convalescent hospital at Amherst. He was recovering his strength, though the lung remained much damaged, when serious symptoms set in suddenly and he died. The bullet was found in the cavity of the left ventricle of the heart. It must have dropped there from one of the large vessels, for there was no sign of a wound in the substance of the heart.

After the White House picket, the great pagoda was taken by assault, and we had further losses. The adjutant of the 18th, Doran, was shot dead by a gingal as he ascended the steps. The pagoda being captured, Rangoon came entirely into our possession. A few days later General Godwin and his staff visited the hospital, which was full and in very fair order. I had gone on board the Tubal Cain on duty, and seeing them approaching the hospital along the river bank, immediately hurried on shore and followed them up the steps into the building. The general was accompanied by Colonel Mayhew, deputy adjutant-general, and others of his staff. Bowling was not on the spot when they arrived, being occupied with some patients in the wards; Govan was in the native hospital, so it happened there was

no commissioned medical officer to receive the General. When I had got to the top of the steps he was talking to a subordinate medical officer. On hearing who I was he turned angrily to me and said, "There was no one here to receive me," and added something about neglect of duty. I was indignant, and told him there was no neglect of duty: we had worked very hard, and, as it seemed to me, satisfactorily. One of my brother officers was sick; of the others, one was in the native hospital, and one engaged on some important duty. He said no more then, and we proceeded round the hospital. The sick and wounded, considering the circumstances, were wonderfully comfortable, though we were badly off for clothing. Noticing one man whose flannel shirt looked dirty — we had no means of supplying him with another—he said, "This man has on a very dirty shirt; why is this?" I replied, "Because, sir, the commissariat is so ill provided that I have difficulty in getting what is necessary for the wounded, and there are no flannel shirts to be had. I am glad you have noticed this." He immediately turned round to me and said, "God bless my soul, sir! I am extremely obleeged" (he pronounced it so) "to you for telling me this. I will have some flannel shirts sent." I thanked him and said, "Pray, sir, be good enough to have them sent immediately, they are much needed." We continued our rounds, saw the rest of the hospital, and went over the native hospital. The general then took his leave. I supposed myself to be in his bad books; but he was a fine, gallant old soldier, and very just, though hot-tempered. He saw we had had great difficulties to contend with, and had not met them so badly. On leaving he embraced me, much to my surprise, and said, "I am much obleeged to you, my dear sir, for all your care of, and kindness to, my sick and wounded." Whenever we met afterwards the general was always excessively kind to me, and seemed to fully recognise the work we had done. As I have said, he was a very gallant old soldier, was much esteemed by all under his command, never spared himself,

and gained the admiration of the troops by his indifference to danger, when exposed, as he frequently was, to the fire of the enemy.

When the thick of the fighting was over, we had got our affairs into better order, and several of our lighter cases had been sent to Amherst. Not very long after this I got the following letter from Colonel Mayhew, the deputy adjutant-general :—

RANGOON, *May* 8, 1852.

MY DEAR FAYRER, — An order from Government has been received granting to you and White a staff salary of Rs. 200 a month. I am very sorry the enclosed order [this order was one respecting our services during the capture of Rangoon] was not issued in time to be sent to Montgomerie, who will be very vexed at the omission of your department in the despatches. I trust your having a gazette to yourselves will make up for the disappointment. Everything was done in such a hurry, I am surprised more errors were not made. Such things occur in every despatch that I have ever seen, but they are not the less galling on that account. —Yours sincerely, W. MAYHEW,

Dept. Adjt.-Genl. B. F. Force.

Of course I was very much pleased at this addition to my pay, and the despatch concerning our services. But I must revert a little.

The day of the White House picket I picked up a young Burman—in fact, took him prisoner near the hospital. He was an active, powerful young fellow, and well educated His name was Moung-shwe-gyee. He remained with me during my stay in Burmah as a personal attendant, and accompanied me to Calcutta, where he left me to return to Burmah with Dr Forsyth, who was going there as superintending surgeon. When in Calcutta he went about to wait on me at dinner-parties, and excited much interest.

The Burmese are an active, energetic race, their physique very different in character from that of the natives of India —of the Mongolian or Indo-Chinese type, with long black hair and almost beardless faces. Their colour is a light

brown, distinguishing them from the Karens and others, who are darker. They are of a cheerful, bright disposition, very fond of active exercise, and it is interesting to see young men playing football outside their villages. They are also very fond of dramatic entertainments, each village having its theatre, or *puay*, of a primitive kind. The women are not secluded as they are in India, laugh and talk freely, and appear in public as much as the men. The men also are of a frank and independent character, but very deferential to all authority. They prostrate themselves in the presence of any chief, and nothing would induce a Burman to let his head be higher than his master's. They fought well, though their military organisation may not have been very good, and we found them no contemptible enemy.

They are remarkably fond of tattooing. The chest and arms are ornamented by a variety of patterns, generally of dragons or demons or other fantastic devices. Every male Burman is closely tattooed from the waist down to the knees, often with very intricate and beautiful patterns, chiefly blue, but frequently mixed with red. The absence of this is looked upon as a mark of great effeminacy. It is done by degrees, and probably completed about adult age. They are Buddhists. The priests live together in kioungs or monasteries, and are known by their yellow dress: they are to be met with constantly, as they go about begging for food, which is freely given to them in all the houses. The education of the young people rests in their hands. The people generally are excessively superstitious, paying great deference to *gnats*, spirits inhabiting natural objects, which are propitiated by offerings.

They do not abstain from alcohol, but are not drunkards. Being Buddhists, they have no caste like the Hindus, and therefore have not the same restrictions upon their food. They are inveterate smokers: both men and women, and even the children, indulge in smoking. Like other oriental nations, they are very dexterous in producing fire, and the

following illustrates one method by which it is done. One day a Burmese messenger brought me a note. Whilst he was waiting for the reply, I observed an object something like a boy's pop-gun suspended round his waist. On asking what it was, he showed me that it was an implement for producing fire. It was a rude example of a scientific instrument employed by lecturers at home to illustrate the production of heat by suddenly compressed air. A piston fitted into the tube; the former was hollowed at the lower end and smeared with wax to receive a piece of cotton or tinder, which when pressed into it adhered. The tube was closed at one end. Placing the piston at the top of the tube, with a smart blow he struck it down and immediately withdrew it with the tinder on fire, the sudden compression of the air having ignited it. I was so much struck with the scientific ingenuity of this rude implement that I procured it from the Burman, and sent it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal with a short description of its uses.

I must mention an amusing incident that happened during the action. Colonel A. Bogle, R.A., who was commissioner at Moulmein, had come round, and was acting as a volunteer. He was wounded, and with several others was brought to be attended to. On being asked where he was wounded, he pointed to the leg. I took hold of the trouser and said to some one by me, "This must come off." He immediately called out in great agitation, "You shall not cut off my leg, sir. I am Colonel Bogle." I explained it was only the trouser that was to come off, that the wound might be examined. The bullet had been spent before it struck him, and had inflicted only a slight wound: it was dressed, and he was sent on board the Berenice steamer, which soon after sailed for Moulmein. It appears that he took a fancy to me at the time, and when I went round to Moulmein some weeks later I stayed with him at Government House, and received the greatest kindness. Moreover, without my knowing it, he wrote to the Government of India and asked for the appointment of civil surgeon of

Moulmein, which was about to become vacant, for me, and in due time it was offered, but meanwhile something better had been given to me.

After some weeks at Bo-ta-Toung, we removed our field hospital to a large kioung near the great stockade. Here we had one building for our quarters, and two others for the native and European hospitals. Not long before leaving Bo-ta-Toung, one evening after dark, hearing a great noise coming from one of the outhouses where the hospital coolies lived, I found them in a state of excitement and agitation at the appearance among them of a snake which they had killed with sticks. It was a large black and yellow bungarus (*B. fasciatus*). Fortunately no one had been bitten, for this snake is very deadly. I continued in medical charge of the field hospital, and had now been appointed medical storekeeper to the forces. This gave me another addition to my pay, though not a large one, and much increase of work, for I had to make out indents for drugs and instruments for the field force, and also to see that all the expeditions we sent out were properly supplied with these articles.

After taking possession of the city, Captain Latter was appointed magistrate, and, in addition to my other duties, I had those of civil surgeon of Rangoon assigned to me. This involved the charge of a large jail and jail hospital, and constant examination of people killed and wounded in affrays with the dacoits, who were numerous and active. A young Burman had been thus wounded in the hip, necessitating amputation at the joint. He did well, and had very nearly recovered, when one night a drunken man got into the hospital, staggered about among the inmates, and dreadfully frightened my poor patient, when tetanus set in and carried him off just as the wound had almost healed. I had several other operations, and amongst them tied the femoral artery for aneurism with success. About this time I commenced a series of meteorological observations for the Asiatic Society, once every month keeping "term observations"—that is, noting the thermometer, barometer, wind, and rain-

fall once every hour of the twenty-four. I had now also begun to study Burmese, having found a teacher, and in a few months could speak it freely, and write on a palm-leaf with a style or on paper with a pen. I asked to be examined, but at that time no committee for this purpose had been formed.

There were many Europeans—civilians, employés, and merchants—who came to Rangoon as soon as it was occupied by our troops and established themselves in business. All these people in their ailments and troubles came to me and gave me constant work. There was a good deal of sickness, and a smallpox epidemic, from which several suffered severely. When I left Rangoon the European community presented me with an address and a gold watch and chain, on which their names were recorded. This is still in my possession.

My visit to Moulmein, referred to already, came about in the following way. Some months after we occupied Rangoon I had been a good deal knocked up by hard work, and it was thought a little rest and change were desirable, so I was sent in charge of a detachment of invalids for Amherst. Lieutenant St George of the 1st Fusiliers was with me. We landed at Amherst, saw the hospital there, spent the day with Dr White, and then went up the river in a boat to Moulmein, and direct to Colonel Bogle's house on the hill. We spent a very pleasant week there. Moulmein is a beautiful place: the scenery is most picturesque—a charming variety of hill, wood, and water.

When we moved into the stockade we had as quarters wooden houses, two rooms in each, raised above the ground, and three long wooden buildings as hospitals and medical stores. Some other assistant surgeons had joined us by this time, and it was now that my life-long friendship with S. B. Partridge, and, a little later, with W. B. Beatson, commenced. Haynes was another friend: he died not long after at Donabew. We had a mess of medical officers, with one extra member, who took much interest

in the management of the mess, Lieutenant Shepherd of the Bengal Cavalry. Poor fellow! he was shot during the siege of the Residency of Lucknow. We had a most sociable mess, and used to entertain officers of the regiments who were stationed near us: those of the 10th Native Infantry were our great friends. An amusing incident occurred about this time. Rangoon established a daily paper, which gave all the gossip of the place. I happened to be confined to my quarters one day with a little fever, the result of a poisoned scratch on the finger during an operation. Dr Hare of the 1st Fusiliers came to see me, looking much concerned, and seemed relieved to find me so slightly indisposed. He showed me the newspaper, in which the editor deplored the impending loss of a promising young officer who was dying from an injury inflicted during the performance of an operation!

I should mention that not very long after we took Rangoon, Commodore Lambert visited the hospital one day, and in conversation asked me if Captain Fayrer was my father, and wished to know what had become of my brother Robert, who had served under him on board H.M.S. Endymion. I told him he was still a mate on board H.M.S. Fantome in Australia—in fact, under his command. Australia was then in the Indian naval command. He said, "What! has he not been made [lieutenant] yet?" and expressed some surprise when he heard that he had not received promotion, after his gallant conduct at Serapique. He said that he would give my brother the first vacancy as lieutenant, and would write to the Admiralty about him. He was soon placed on the Fox's books as lieutenant, and not long afterwards his promotion was confirmed from home and antedated to the time of his passing. This made him a senior lieutenant of the Fantome, and he was sent away on some duty to New Zealand or Tasmania. Not long after his return he died at Melbourne, and his death caused me great sorrow. The commodore was always very kind to me, and so was the general,

whom I occasionally visited in his quarters near the great pagoda.

Some time after this an expedition to Pegu took place, and I tried very hard to go, spent the night on board one of the steamers, but was recalled in the morning, as I could not be spared. My great desire was to see every bit of service possible. The place was captured: it was not much of an affair after all, but later it gave a great deal of trouble, and was gallantly held by a small force under Major Hill. Some men who had been on duty at Martaban were admitted into the hospital suffering from a bad form of dysentery. They had been stationed at a place where jungle had been recently cut down and where malaria was intensely active. Some died of a most pernicious form of fever, and in others dysentery proved rapidly fatal, with all the symptoms of collapse and gangrene of the colon, which it really was. The case of a civil officer who was accused of undue cruelty in flogging a native prisoner caused me much anxiety. A petition was sent in to the general, who ordered a court of inquiry. My evidence concerning the man who had been punished saved the officer, and the court pronounced in his favour. He some time after this was murdered in his bed by a Burmese in revenge for some injury he was supposed to have inflicted, but this had no connection with the previous affair.

The war was over, and my duties had become quite of a civil nature. Pegu had been formally annexed, and Captain Phayre had been installed as commissioner of this new British province. This officer had already gained a high reputation for his knowledge of the Burmans, and had done such good service in Burmah that he was selected for the high office of commissioner of the newly annexed province. All his Indian life was devoted to Burmah, which to a great extent owed its successful development to his administration, his profound knowledge of the people, their history, language, and social and political conditions. This, together with his own personal attributes, made him as peculiarly acceptable

to the people as he was eminently fitted to be their ruler. As in the case of other high Indian officials, his career did not terminate in India, for on his retirement from the service he became governor of Mauritius. The last years of his life were devoted to literary, philological, and historical studies, and when he died he had attained to the honours of the Bath, the Star of India, and St Michael and St George. The friendship that began thus early continued throughout his life. When I took leave of him to go to Lucknow he remarked, "You have seen some interesting changes here, but it seems probable you will see others not less so where you are going." He prophesied correctly.

Lord Dalhousie had visited Rangoon, when I with others had been presented to him. Rules and regulations were being established, and Lieutenant Ardagh of the Madras Native Infantry had been appointed as magistrate of Rangoon, and other officers to various other posts. In a Calcutta paper my name had appeared in the Gazette as transferred to the Foreign Department. My friends told me this meant my official appointment as civil surgeon of Rangoon, and thought it would be a very good one. I, however, preferred returning to India. A few days later a letter came franked "Dalhousie," and which ran as follows:—

GOVT. HOUSE, CALCUTTA, *July* 19, 1853.

SIR,—The Residency surgeoncy at Lucknow has been vacant for some time. I have purposely reserved it that I might bestow it, as the best medical appointment in the gift of the Governor-General, upon the assistant surgeon who should be found to have rendered the most approved services during the war with Burmah. The testimony that has been borne to your professional skill, exertions, and character by the superintending surgeon under whom you have served has determined me to select you for this office, and I have much pleasure in thus bestowing on you the reward which your merit has won.—I have the honour to be, sir, your faithful servant,

DALHOUSIE.

To Ast. Surgeon FAYRER.

I was taken by surprise and much pleased. The paragraph in the Gazette was now explained. This was the coveted appointment of the Indian Medical Service, and I had received it after being only two years and nine months in India. It appeared that Major Hill, who had done good service, had also received an autograph letter from the Governor-General appointing him to command the Gwalior Brigade. I sold my ponies, made over my official duties to Beatson, and took my passage in the first steamer for Calcutta. We called at Kyouk-phyoo and Akyab, and arrived in Calcutta about the end of July or the beginning of August. In entering the harbour at Akyab, a lascar fell overboard. He managed to seize a rope and held on with the most wonderful tenacity; the steamer was stopped, and he was got on board uninjured. While walking the deck one night I saw what looked to me like a comet, and pointed it out to the captain. We found on arriving at Calcutta that it had been attracting much attention from its brilliancy. No one else on board had noticed it. One of my Rangoon merchant friends was a fellow-passenger to Calcutta. Shortly after his arrival there he was attacked with dysentery and died, and I attended his funeral, when the Rev. Mr Bellew, so well known afterwards as a preacher, performed the service.

I was now twenty-eight years old. My health was good. I still had occasional mild recurrences of malarial fever, but on the whole, though thin and slight, was very well. I had seen a good deal of service, had had very hard work, had made considerable progress in my profession, and had received, before I had been three years in the service, by an autograph letter from the Governor-General, a much-coveted appointment. I had also been presented with a public letter of thanks from the mercantile community of Rangoon. After calling on some friends I went to the college in Tank Square, saw Dr Aloys Sprenger, and asked permission to present myself for examination in Hindustani, and a special one was granted me. My written papers

were looked over by Sprenger, whilst the *viva voce* was taken by Nassau Lees. I was soon informed that I had passed creditably, and P.C.H. appeared after my name in the Army List. As far as I know, at that time no other medical officer had done this, but before long others followed my example.

After remaining about three weeks in Calcutta, I started by carriage dâk—the railway was not then in existence—on my long journey to Lucknow through Burdwan, *viâ* the Grand Trunk Road. The journey to Cawnpore occupied eight days: a heavy carriage, weak horses, and often a bad road detained me. I went to pay a visit to my old friends of the 74th, who were then stationed there, spent the day with them, and bought my first Arab, a bay, from Colonel Oldfield. Next morning I crossed the Ganges and went on to Lucknow, a distance of about fifty miles. On arriving I went at once to the Residency, having received a very kind invitation from the Resident, Colonel Sleeman.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE IN LUCKNOW PREVIOUS TO THE MUTINY.

Advice from Colonel Sleeman respecting my duties and the mode of dealing with native gentlemen—Officers of the Lucknow Residency and their duties — Description of my house — Native gentlemen of Lucknow — Shooting — The King and the Court, and official visits of the Resident — Colonel Sleeman, his important services—Arrival of Colonel Outram as his successor—Ceremonies attending his reception, wild-beast fights, &c.—Appointment as Honorary Assistant Resident—Political duties—Disorganised state of the Oudh Government—Tiger-shooting expedition to the Nepaul Terai—Arrival of new brigadier—Marriage with his daughter—Outram's visit to Calcutta—His return—Annexation of Oudh—Protest on the part of the king, and his departure for Calcutta—Reorganisation of the province under British rule—Appointment of officers—Appointed civil surgeon—Fighting rhinoceros kills a man—Shot by myself and Gubbins—Arrival of my brother Richard—Birth of my first son—Departure of Outram—Succeeded by Coverley Jackson—Accompany him in a tour through Oudh—Dissatisfaction of the citizens and landholders with results of annexation — Disputes amongst the authorities—Departure of Mr Jackson—arrival of Sir Henry Lawrence—Second tiger-shooting expedition to the Nepaul Terai —Signs of discontent in the native army—Circulation of chupattees in the province—Private professional work.

COLONEL SLEEMAN took an early opportunity of describing to me the nature of my duties and of cautioning me against native intrigue, which had ere now involved Residency officers in serious trouble. He instructed me in matters of ceremonial and etiquette, which are of the greatest importance in a native court, and told me how necessary

it was that native gentlemen should receive only that exact amount of official recognition to which they were entitled, but of which they were constantly trying to obtain more than was their due, with a view to enhancing their importance at the court of the king. He explained that certain observances were due to different grades; that, for example, some native gentlemen were to have chairs, others *morahs* (stools), others were not permitted to sit in the presence of the Resident or of the officers of the Residency, whilst others again were not received as visitors at all. He explained to me that they might try to make my profession a means of gaining a point in this respect, and that on pretence of sickness or fatigue, they would try to obtain interviews and chairs, and that they might attempt to propitiate by fees if they thought they could do so with impunity, though they knew that was treading upon dangerous ground. In short, he warned me that they were a very intriguing set, and that their great desire was to be supposed to be intimate at the Residency and to have influence with the British political officers, and that any such impression might be made improper use of. He told me that the old jemadar, Subha Sing, who was attached to my department, knew all the privileges of every native gentleman, and that I might quite trust him for guidance in these matters. I saw very plainly that there was dangerous ground, but felt quite equal to walking safely over it, and never found any difficulty.

My brother officers at the Residency were Captain Fletcher Hayes, who was first assistant to the Resident, and Lieutenant Gould Weston, second assistant, also superintendent of Oudh frontier police and agent for the suppression of Thuggie. My designation was Residency Surgeon, Superintendent of the King's Hospital, and Postmaster, and I was also in medical charge of the Martinière school. I was superintendent of the Khairat Khana, a pension establishment founded by King Nusseer ud deen Hyder for the support of a certain number of poor pensioners. One of these pen-

SIR WILLIAM SLEEMAN.

sioners was a vigorous old man who had been a subhadar at the battle of Buxar, so that he must have been over one hundred years of age! I was also superintendent of the Char Bagh, a large public garden. A Mohammedan sub-assistant surgeon, and a European apothecary, with a certain number of native dressers and compounders, were attached to the hospital. The assistant postmaster, Lalla Pursid Narain, was an excellent officer, and managed all the details of the Post Office admirably. The dâks were always opened in my presence, and I was responsible for them. I found plenty to do in connection with the various duties already described, and in studying the language. The best Hindustani is spoken at Lucknow, and I soon began to talk it fluently, as well as to read and understand Persian, which was the language of official correspondence with the native court.

The Residency consisted of a group of fine houses with compounds, in which were flowering shrubs and some good trees, situated upon an elevation near the banks of the Goomti, with the river on one side and the city on the other. About a quarter of a mile up the river was an iron bridge reached by a broad road; on the other side was a crowded suburb, and then, about three miles distant, was the military cantonment of Muriaon, where three or four regiments and some artillery were stationed under the command of a brigadier. This cantonment, which was approached by an excellent road, was our great resort, and every morning I used to ride or drive there, and frequently far beyond it into the surrounding country, have *chota haziri* with some of the officers, and then ride home again to bath, breakfast, and the business of the day. The Resident had there a large bungalow, the cantonment Residency, to which he went occasionally for change. Every evening the Resident and Mrs Sleeman used to drive in a carriage with four horses and postilions, and an escort of two sowars in advance and three in rear, to the cantonment, where generally one of the military bands played, and the people assembled

as is the wont in military stations in India. The assistant Residents never drove out without an escort of two sowars. For this purpose the Residency was supplied with a detachment of Irregular Cavalry, and two orderlies were always in waiting at each officer's house, as were elephant and camel men, choprassies, and other attendants. There was a chaplain also and an Engineer officer, but they were both absent during my time. The late Mr Beechy, the king's painter, had occupied another of the houses, but his son, who succeeded him, seldom came there. There were other houses, but their occupants were only indirectly connected with the Residency. There was a large building called the Begum Koti, which was royal property and occupied by some dependent of the royal family, and also a church and banqueting-hall. All these places became important posts of defence during the Mutiny. My house was a very good one, with gardens, stables, coach-house, and swimming-bath. The Residency officers were considered the guests of the king, and our houses were found for us. I little thought when taking possession that the time was so near when we should have to fight for and hold these places for dear life against such frightful odds!

I took a good deal of interest in the King's Hospital, greatly developed the surgical side of it, and performed many operations, especially lithotomy. Lithotrity, which has been so much advanced by Kegan and Freyer of late years with such benefit, was little practised then. Amongst other major operations, I did cæsarean section twice.

During my first year at Lucknow I made acquaintance with many nawabs and native gentlemen, especially the Nawab Munower ud Dowlah, an ex-minister, the son or adopted son of a former Prime Minister, Hâkim Mehndi. He was a most perfect old gentleman, a keen sportsman, and a great friend of the English. I had several shooting expeditions with him, and always met him with the greatest pleasure. He had a fine stud of elephants and a very complete battery of guns and rifles. We used to shoot quail and snipe

together near Lucknow. He always shot from the howdah, a sort of box in which he sat with his legs crossed, and seldom missed: he was equally good at snipe, black partridges, and big game. His great friend, and also mine, was the Nawab Moosun ud Dowlah, a cousin of the king, a very wealthy man, who was also a keen sportsman. He, too, had a magnificent stud of elephants and a fine battery of guns. Besides a house in Lucknow, he had one on the cantonment road: a gateway on either side of a circular space in this road led into his grounds, and there he had some tigers that could be seen by the passers-by. This was the favourite drive from cantonments. He also had a *rumnah* (park) well stocked with deer and other game. There were many others, among them the Nawab Mumtaz ud Dowlah, also a cousin of the king, and eldest son of a late heir-apparent, who, having died before he came to the throne, could not transmit to his son what he had never possessed himself. He also was a sportsman, but had not the same frank, manly nature as the others. I must not forget to mention Digbigjeh Sing, the Rajah of Bulrampore, who after the Mutiny became Maharajah and Sir Digbigjeh Sing for his loyal services. We were equally interested in sporting matters, and often shot together. There was also Agha Ali Khan, or Aghai Sahib, as he was generally called, the Chakladar of Sultanpore.

My first shooting expeditions for large game were at about ten or twelve miles from Lucknow, generally at a place called Mahona, and the Umeriah jungle in the Seetapore direction, an extensive tract of country covered with low brushwood of the dâk and corunda trees and long grass, in which were nylgye, hog-deer, antelope, hares, peafowl, black and grey partridges. I generally had ten or twelve elephants as beaters, and usually a companion. On one occasion the late Marquess of Lothian, and Mr Egerton, now the Earl of Egerton, who were on a visit to Lucknow, spent a day or two out in camp with me. There were some good snipe jheels near Lucknow, whence I used occasionally to

bring home ten or twelve couple. Sometimes I made a fair bag of quail.

The king, Wajid Ali Shah, was an apathetic person who took little part in the government of the country, and much evil resulted. There can be no doubt that the people were oppressed by the exactions of his revenue collectors. The Prime Minister, Nawab Ali Nucky Khan, was a shrewd man, a most perfect gentleman in manner, and I never could see anything about him that was objectionable, but he was said, like others, to have been too careful of his own interests. Occasionally the Resident and his staff would pay the king a formal visit at the Kaiser Bagh, the palace in which he resided. We always went with an escort of Irregular Cavalry, and were received by guards presenting arms and bands playing "God save the Queen." The Resident was carried from his carriage in a gold *tonjon* into the durbar-room, which was situated in a small garden palace in the enclosure of the Kaiser Bagh. The Residency officers walked by his side. The king met the Resident at the door, and having embraced him, shook hands with us. We then walked into an inner room and sat down, the Resident on the king's right hand, all the king's attendants, except the prime minister and the Residency wakil, standing. After a little conversation about commonplace matters, or any important event that might have occurred, we took leave. The king and Resident again embraced at the door, to which his majesty conducted us; he then placed a *har* or necklace round each of our necks, and, attar and pân having been presented, we drove off with the same state in which we arrived. Former kings had been in the habit of returning these visits, but Wajid Ali never left his own palace. He was very fat and short-winded, though but thirty-two years of age. Our visits were only occasional, and there never had been a time when the communications between the Residency and the Court were so restricted. The fact was that things had not been going well, and it was felt that the time was approaching

when the often-threatened interference of the British Government was imminent.

It became more evident as time went on that things were not progressing satisfactorily. The country was dissatisfied, the native court was a hotbed of dissipation and corruption; the king was absorbed in his musicians, his harem, his nautch-girls, and other amusements, and oppression and misrule were on the increase throughout the whole of his dominions. I don't remember the precise sequence of events, but it must have been towards the end of 1854 that Colonel Sleeman fell ill and was placed on the sick-list. Captain Hayes then assumed charge of the Residency. In a month or two Colonel Sleeman left for the hills, and he died some little time later whilst on his return to England.[1] He was a most distinguished officer, and had justly gained a high reputation, not only for his political services, but for the suppression of Thuggie, for it was to him that this was mainly due. He was a man of great erudition, with a profound knowledge of history and languages, and an equally thorough acquaintance with native character and modes of thought. His 'Rambles of an Indian Official' is full of interest and instruction, betraying an intimate knowledge of the political and social conditions of the country in which he had served so long with such distinction. He was created K.C.B. shortly before his death.

After a short interregnum, Colonel Outram assumed the duties of Resident, and his arrival was celebrated with great pomp. He spent the first night in one of the suburban palaces called the Dil Khusha, and the next day entered the city of Lucknow, attended by the Residency officers, with a large procession of elephants, camel-men, cavalry, and infantry. The heir-apparent—the king being indisposed—met the Resident half-way between the Dil Khusha and the Residency. Outram left his own howdah

[1] Many years later, in 1899, when at Falmouth, I observed in the parish church a slab to his memory, recording his services and the date of his death on board ship on his way home.

for that of the heir-apparent, and the procession then went on, attended by great crowds, among whom money was scattered, to the Moti Mahal palace, where a banquet was prepared, followed by elephant and other wild-beast fights. The king had a large collection of animals—fighting elephants, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, tigers, hyænas, and others. He had also a splendid aviary, in which every conceivable kind of bird was kept. Pigeons were especial favourites, and the art of pigeon-breeding was carried to such perfection, and the fanciers and breeders were so skilful, that they produced the most extraordinary varieties of these birds. Pigeon-flying was a favourite entertainment, especially with the king. Clouds of these birds could be seen soaring over the Kaiser Bagh and the other palaces, responding to signals made with a flag by men on the roof. They were made to perform extraordinary aerial evolutions, settling down at command. Kite-flying was also a very favourite amusement with the king and the nawabs. The native kites, which have no tails, could be seen soaring over Lucknow at all times. Kite tournaments or duels were popular, in which the object was for the string of one kite to cut that of the other, the strings being covered with powdered glass. The greatest dexterity was often shown, and large sums of money changed hands in these contests. The king was a great adept in kite-flying.

Wild-beast fights were not so common in Wajid Ali's time as in his predecessor's: they took place occasionally, as on Outram's arrival, but ram, cock, and quail fighting were constant amusements. The elephant and also the rhinoceros fights used to take place on the plain of the Dil-i-Aram across the Goomti, just opposite the Moti Mahal. The elephants were full-grown males, highly fed and pampered, and when "must" were brought into the field of battle from opposite sides, when they immediately rushed at each other, pushing and struggling until the weaker gave way. Each elephant had his mahout on his back, who, by the help of a rope or two extending from the neck to

the tail, was able to shift his place when necessary. The animals had their foreheads painted red. They were accompanied on to the ground by horsemen with spears, and by footmen—*bandars*—carrying fireworks. The mahouts were seldom if ever hurt, nor did the elephants suffer, as a general rule. When one elephant found that he was weaker than the other he turned and quitted the field, the conqueror followed, and once I saw an elephant overturned. These fighting elephants, which were kept for this purpose, were nearly always dangerous to all but their immediate attendants, and sometimes to them. They are very much afraid of fireworks, and if the attendants seemed to be in danger, the letting off of fireworks immediately put them to flight. They also dread spears, and were easily turned, even when making a furious charge, by the fireworks or the spearmen. Some of the trained attendants provoked the elephants, either by riding up to them or by dragging a shawl along the ground. It occasionally, but rarely, happened that an elephant did catch a man, and then his destruction was almost certain. When the fight between the two elephants was over, the conqueror was driven off the field by the spearmen and *bandars*. For these fights the mahouts used to receive very handsome presents of money and shawls from the king or the minister.

Rhinoceroses fight much in the same way, but of course they had no one on their backs. They were led on to the ground by chains, the attendants patting them on the back and encouraging them. As soon as they saw each other they made a rush and tried to push over or injure each other with their horns, until, as in the case of the elephants, the weaker gave way and rushed off the field.

Buffaloes fight with each other much in the same fashion. I once saw a young bull pitted against a large male tiger which rushed in, seized him by the neck, pulled him over, and quickly killed him. An old bull buffalo might have beaten the tiger,—they frequently did so. A most amusing fight was one between a hyæna and a donkey.

The donkey was easily victor: he seized the hyæna by the ear, pinned him to the ground, and held him there, where he was quite helpless until released by the attendants and led off the ground. Ram-fighting was also a very favourite amusement, and the force with which these creatures butt each other with their heads is wonderful.

On September 8, 1854, I had been appointed an honorary Assistant Resident, and thus had political combined with my other duties. This, although it did not increase my pay, was supposed to add prestige to my office as Residency surgeon. I was held to be qualified for this appointment, having passed the college in Hindustani. I liked the work and took an interest in it. Weston had at this time left Lucknow in virtue of some military regulation which required his presence with his regiment for a season, and Lieutenant Stewart Beatson had been appointed to succeed him. A large share of the work fell to me, and the correspondence between the British Government and the king passed through my hands. No transference of stock or Government paper could be made without my sanction, and many other matters arising out of the political relations between the two Governments were referred to me.

Another of my duties was to receive and make out a *précis* of the reports of the *akbar naweez*, or news-writers, of what took place at court and throughout the province of Oudh, and strange reports thus reached me of the king and his doings. His various proceedings in the harem and court; the presents he gave, the honours he conferred, and the promotions he made; the oppression of the *amils*, the resistance of the zemindars and talukdars, their fights and the consequences, made a story that no one could have imagined. Doubtless some things were exaggerated, but probably others were far short of the truth. The following will give an idea of one of the daily reports: "His majesty was this morning carried in his *tonjon* to the —— Mahal, and there he and So-and-so [ladies] were entertained with the fights of two pairs of new rams, which fought with great energy,

also of some quails. Shawls worth Rs. 100 were presented to the jemadar who arranged these fights. His majesty then listened to a new singer, and amused himself afterwards by kite-flying till 4 P.M., when he went to sleep. Reports have come from the village of —— in the district of —— that Ram Sing, zemindar, refused to pay Rs. 500 demanded of him by the *amil*, whereon his house was burned; he was wounded, and his two sons and brothers have absconded. Jewan Khan, *daroga* of the pigeon-house, received a *khilat* of shawls and Rs. 2000 for producing a pigeon with one black and one white wing. His majesty recited to the Khas Mahal his new poem on the loves of the bulbuls," and so on. This is no exaggeration: this and such as this, though frequently much worse, was the daily report, a summary of which went in to the Resident, and which no doubt formed a part of the charges on which were founded the indictment laid against the Oudh Government of misrule and neglect of the welfare of the province.

The British Government would no longer maintain a Resident supported by a military force at this corrupt court, or suffer such misrule to be carried on. It was argued that had we not been there with a military force of the British Government, the people would have risen and righted their own wrongs. That they might have done so is probable; at the same time, there can be no doubt that they detested the alternative of being converted into a British province. With all the defects and shortcomings of the king's Government, the people of Oudh would have preferred it to ours. The time had come when effect was to be given to one of the articles of Lord Dalhousie's creed, the extinction of independent provinces within our dominion. The Oudh Government had been so corrupt, despite all warnings, as to have forfeited all claim to further consideration. Outram was sent to Oudh to bring this state of things to a conclusion. The duty imposed upon him was a most uncongenial one, for the natives of India had no better friend, and no one had ever stood up more vigorously for their

rights than he had done; but distasteful to him as it must have been, the knowledge he acquired by personal observation and the reports that he daily received left him no alternative.

At this time commenced my acquaintance with one of the best soldiers and political officers that India ever possessed, and it gradually grew into a firm and lasting friendship. Lady Outram, who was with him, also became a great friend, and I saw much of them. One of the first things he gave me to do was to make out a *précis* of the news reports which I have already described. Outram was not by any means in good health. Long residence in India, hard and anxious work and responsibility, had told upon the strength and vigour of his frame, and I had frequently to prescribe for him. He was a great smoker—was hardly ever without a cigar in his mouth; and this I tried to alter, but with little success. I wrote him a very strong letter on the subject, hoping it might have some effect. He replied very kindly, saying how implicitly he believed in all I said, but that he could not do without his cigars.

Early in 1855 I realised my long-desired project of a shooting trip to the Terai. Having obtained leave from the Resident for a month and made over my professional duties to one of the medical officers in cantonments, the minister procured me several elephants, and I had one for my howdah from my friend Munower ud Dowlah. I sent my camp out to Seetapore, a station about forty-five miles from Lucknow, where I was to meet Captain George Boileau, commanding one of the Oudh infantry regiments; Captain Drury, 35th Bengal Native Infantry, and Captain J. Hearsey of the Oudh service—all noted sportsmen. They were to bring a certain number of elephants borrowed from the native gentlemen of the surrounding districts. I was very fond of riding and shooting, delighting in camp life, especially a shooting camp. It was not merely the game, but the excitement of the chase and the love of the country, that fascinated me. I was not, and never have been, a very

good shot, but am an enthusiastic sportsman at heart. I subjoin some extracts from the journal I kept, which will show the nature and amount of sport we obtained.[1] I never enjoyed anything more than I did that trip. My thoughts often revert to the delights of the camp in the wild forest, by the beautiful streams and rapids, where our only care was about the game we were to get, and our only anxiety as to whether we should find a tiger in a certain swamp or not.

During my absence in the Terai the new Brigadier-General, A. Spens, had arrived, and with him his daughter. As soon as possible I went to call upon them, and this was the first time I spoke to my wife. In a very short time we became engaged, and were married in the cantonment church on the 4th October 1855. She was just twenty-one and I was to be thirty-one the following December. We received the greatest kindness from the Outrams at this time.

Outram was summoned to Calcutta to consult with the Governor-General in Council upon matters connected with the province of Oudh and the changes that were impending. He returned after a brief absence, charged with instructions for the reorganisation of the Oudh Government. The king was to be offered certain terms, with a large pension and the continuance of his title, and was to make over the administration of his province to the British Government; or did he decline to do so, he was to be deposed, his kingdom to be annexed, and formally declared a British province. The king absolutely declined the former proposition, and he was accordingly deposed. Shortly after this his majesty went to Calcutta, intending to proceed to England and appeal to the Throne. He never got farther than Calcutta, where he remained to the day of his death. A British force had already entered Oudh in anticipation of any difficulties that might arise, and were on their march between Cawnpore and Lucknow.

The day (February 4, 1856) that Outram was to com-

[1] *Vide* Chapter V.

municate the final decision to the king, I happened to be absent, having gone to meet an old friend who was with this force. Outram sent for me to accompany him and the other assistants, and certainly had I known in time I should have gone with him. The meeting was described to me as a most affecting scene. The Resident was received by a guard *without* arms; all signs of dependence and submission were prominently displayed. The king on being told what was proposed declined to agree to it, and made the most earnest and pathetic protest against the proceedings. Taking off his turban, he tendered it to the Resident, saying the Government should do what it thought right, and no opposition would be offered; but he would go to London and lay his petition at the foot of the Throne, and on leaving he would give instructions to all his officers to obey implicitly every order from the Government. The Resident had no alternative but to carry out the instructions he had received from the Governor-General: he did so firmly but kindly and sympathetically. A proclamation was issued announcing that Oudh was now a British province, and Outram was named Chief Commissioner, with Sir G. Couper as his private secretary; whilst two civilians, Mr Martin Gubbins and Mr Manaton Ommanney, were appointed respectively Financial and Judicial Commissioner; Major Banks, Commissioner, and Mr S. N. Martin, Deputy Commissioner of the Lucknow Division; and Captain Carnegie, Police Magistrate of Lucknow. Outram was anxious to provide for the old Residency officers in the new administration: Hayes was appointed Military Secretary, Weston continued to be Superintendent of Police and Thuggie, as before. He had recommended that I should be made Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, but the Governor-General wrote most kindly, suggesting that as I had done well in my profession, it was a pity to give it up, and if I chose to continue in my present office he would guarantee me my allowances and privileges. Of course I acceded, and selected the designation of Civil Surgeon of Lucknow and Superintendent of all

charitable institutions. This appointment dated from the 20th March 1856, and so my new work began.

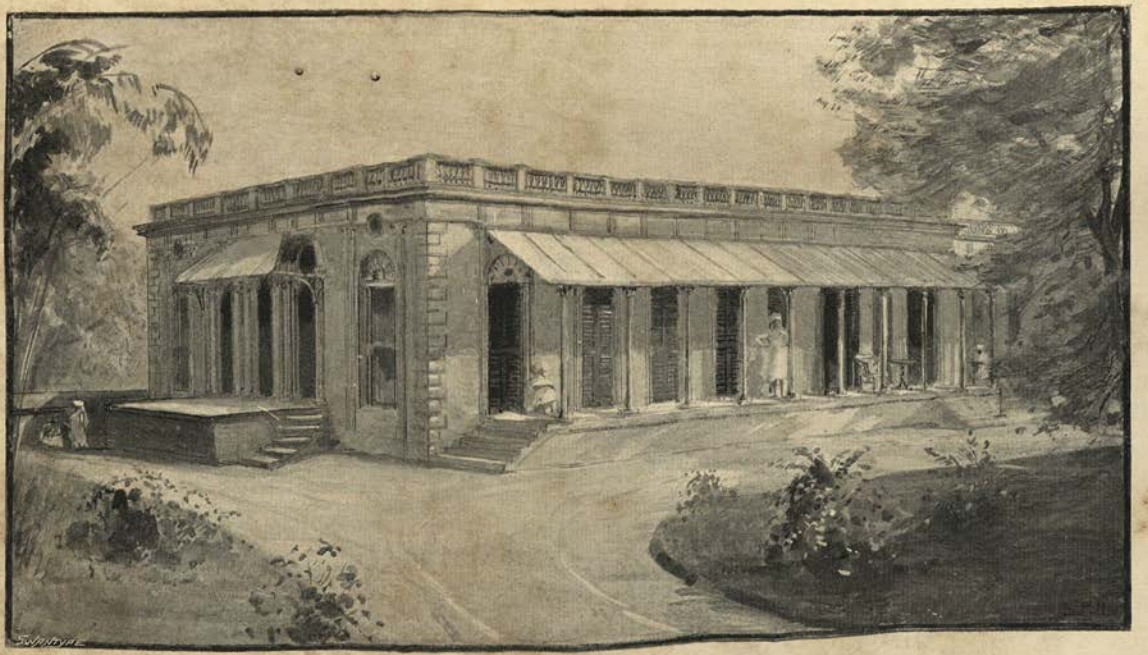
The annexation of Oudh was the last important act of Lord Dalhousie's administration, and the details were carried out by Lord Canning, who assumed office on February 29, 1856. The change was not an agreeable one. Everything was altered: the old Residency as such ceased to exist, and the rules and regulations of a British non-regulation province prevailed everywhere. The two Commissioners, Ommanney and Gubbins, had been assigned two large houses in the Residency; the others were converted into public offices and cutcherries. Outram, though a great soldier and political officer, disliked the work now imposed upon him, and friction soon began to arise among the high civil authorities in reference to questions of settlement. His health, already bad, soon gave way, and I had to insist upon his leaving for England. This was in April 1856. He was succeeded by Mr Coverley Jackson, a man of great ability, a civilian of the old school, accustomed to the routine of a settled province of India, but whose views as regarded revenue and judicial matters were not generally acceptable in Oudh.

I may here anticipate so far as to say that Outram, who had gone home in a wretched state of health, recovered sufficiently to take command of the expedition against Persia, to which he was appointed in January 1857. We did not see him again until he returned with Havelock's relieving force to our assistance when in a close state of siege. I then had the happiness of receiving him into my house after a terrible fight through the streets of Lucknow, in which he was shot in the arm.

After the king's deposition it became necessary to provide for all his majesty's establishments—the army, the pension establishment, public works, and many others. An important matter was that of providing for the king's stud of horses, elephants, camels, his wild animals, and the Tope Khana, or artillery department. All these were placed

under my supervision, and, in addition to my proper work, gave me plenty to do. Of course I had numerous subordinates, but they needed supervision, and careful investigation was necessary in relation to the great demands daily made upon the treasury for feeding and providing for all these establishments.

An interesting little episode arose out of this charge. It was one day reported to me that one of the large fighting rhinoceroses had broken loose, had run down a man in the open plain and killed him. I immediately sentenced him to death, and set about carrying out his execution myself, with the help of my friend Gubbins. We sent our elephants to the place where the rhinoceros had ensconced himself, a patch of swampy ground not far from the Dil-i-aram, and there we found him. We mounted our elephants and approached him with our guns ready. He seemed quite prepared for us, pricked his ears, snorted, and looked vicious, showing that he meant to fight. The elephants became very unsteady and would not approach him. Fearing if we only wounded him he might get away and do more mischief, we changed our tactics, left him, and retired to a tope of trees a few hundred yards distant. We each got up into a tree near the place where we knew he would emerge from the swamp. We had meantime sent a number of men with tom-toms to the other side to drive him: he walked deliberately towards the trees where we were sitting. I had sent back to the hospital for some strychnine, and put about 20 grains into a large chupattee which was laid on the path along which we expected him to come. On coming up to it he stopped and deliberately ate it. We watched him with great interest for about twenty minutes, during which he munched the chupattee and did not move from the spot. At last, perhaps beginning to feel the poison, he moved, looking somewhat disturbed. This we had agreed upon as the signal to fire, and we did so, both at the same moment. My ball penetrated through the double shield of skin upon the shoulder; Gubbins' hit him in the neck. He dropped,



DR FAYRER'S HOUSE IN THE LUCKNOW RESIDENCY.
(BEFORE THE SIEGE.)

falling prone upon his belly, and did not turn over upon his side. On going up to him we found he was quite dead. We left a jemadar with *chumars* to remove his skin. When he returned in the evening he said a strange thing had happened which he had never seen before: the flies that settled upon the carcass as the skin was removed died in numbers!

About this time my brother Richard, who had come from Australia, was living with me. He had been for some time a cadet in the Australian Mounted Police, and was an excellent rider. He continued with me to the end, poor boy! He was killed by the mutineers not long after, when only twenty-three years of age.

On June 27, 1856, our first son was born in my wife's father's house in cantonments. He was christened "Robert Andrew," after my father and hers.

The annexation had made great changes. It had brought many more people and entailed upon me much more work. My hospital went on as usual, but jails were now formed and jail hospitals. They soon became crowded, and there was much sickness and mortality. All this gave me great anxiety, for sanitary science was in its infancy, and there were many difficulties about sanitation and diet. I reorganised the arrangements of the Post Office, which was now made to extend over the whole province. Postmasters were appointed in each station, and Pursid Narain was made deputy postmaster.

During Mr Coverley Jackson's incumbency, in January 1857 I made a tour with him through the province for the purpose of inspecting various localities, laying down sites for new stations, and improving the condition of those already in existence. He was accompanied by his nieces Georgina and Madeline Jackson, and their brother, Sir Mountstuart Jackson, who was an assistant commissioner at Seetapore. We visited a great many stations from Khyreghur to Baraitch, and on our return crossed the Gogra at Beiram Ghât. We had our elephants with us,

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and I had plenty of shooting, though we never got into the tiger districts. Captain Hughes was with us, commanding the chief commissioner's escort, and we used to shoot together. Luchmi, the elephant from which I shot tigers in the Terai, was now in my possession. She was a great beauty, very staunch, very active, and very fleet. I bought her from Captain W. Hearsey.

A curious incident occurred when we were encamped on the banks of one of the rivers. It was a wide and slow stream with muddy banks. In the evening Hughes and I strolled up the riverside with our rifles, and about 500 yards from camp we noticed a gavial lying on a sand-bank. I fired and the ball took effect; but, as so often happens, the creature gave a plunge and slipped into the river. At the time the elephants were all bathing close to camp, Luchmi with the rest. The mahout was washing her, and my howdah choprassy was looking on. A few minutes after wounding the gavial we heard a commotion among the elephants: some were rushing out of the river, others were trumpeting and looking excited, Luchmi particularly so, with her trunk up in the air. I observed a splashing in the water among the elephants' legs, and noticed that my choprassy had gone into the river up to his waist, and that he and one or two more were grappling with something. We hurried back to the spot, and found that they were dragging a large gavial up the bank: it was the one I had wounded. Its spine was cut behind the forelegs, and it had, in this partially paralysed condition, drifted down and across the stream among the elephants' legs: hence the commotion—the timid elephants bolting, the staunch ones standing firm. I told the mahout to make Luchmi kill it. She immediately approached it with her trunk well up in the air, put one foot on it and crushed it: she then knocked it to the hind-foot, with which she again kicked it forward, repeating the process several times,—"Baoli karna" the mahouts call it. After doing this for about half a minute, she gave it a side kick and sent it some yards from her,

crushed and quite dead. She was much excited. Elephants will do the same with a tiger or wild pig; but it is not well to allow them to touch anything, as it tends to make them unsteady and apt to rush at any game that may come near them, which would be as bad as, or worse than, a pointer running in on a hare. We cut open the gavial, and as usual found a number of pebbles in the stomach. These are swallowed to aid in digesting the food.

On my return I found much fever of the typhoid type in the jail. The scale of diet which I had recommended had not been adopted, and the prisoners were suffering from indifferent food. When referred to, I pointed this out to the chief commissioner, who called upon the judicial authority for an explanation. Fortunately I had kept notes and dates, and had witnesses and letters to prove that I had taken all precautions. This was under consideration when Mr Jackson left, and was not finally settled when other matters connected with the impending troubles diverted attention from it, and nothing more was said about it. Meanwhile the settlement of the province was being carried out. Old titles as to the possession of land were inquired into, present occupants were displaced and others put in their stead. The population of the city was greatly disturbed, as numbers were thrown out of work, and there could be little doubt that our intervention was detested. Every one was dissatisfied. The Oudh royal family, the great nobles and landowners, felt themselves injured, and complaints and discontent prevailed. Mr Jackson and the two commissioners were not of accord. It is needless to enter into the details of these dissensions—they are all recorded in the histories of the annexation; but the result was the transference ere long of Mr Jackson to some other appointment.

He was succeeded by Sir Henry Lawrence, who was then Governor-General's agent in Rajputana and about to proceed to England on medical leave, which he gave up in this emer-

gency. His arrival was greeted enthusiastically by every one, especially by the natives, who knew how strongly his sympathies leant towards them. There can be no doubt that after his arrival matters progressed more smoothly for a time, though the changes that had been necessarily effected in the land tenure and in other matters connected with the civil administration of the province continued to be a source of discontent and trouble.

In March 1857 Gubbins and I made a tiger-shooting expedition to the Terai, some incidents of which will be found in next chapter. I was glad to get home, for things were very unsettled, and signs of the coming storm were becoming more threatening: the rumours of discontent in the native army became more prevalent and of more general occurrence, though nothing as yet had taken place in Oudh beyond the circulation of the chupattees, the depredations of a notorious dacoit, Fuzzul Ali, and the movements of a moulvie who took a prominent part afterwards in the Mutiny. The force there had been increased; several new local regiments had been raised, and the greater part of H.M. 32nd Foot were stationed in Lucknow. The 52nd Foot had been there previously, and they had suffered from a severe and sudden outbreak of cholera before Mr Jackson left. They had occupied a large building near the Dil Khusha Park, which in the king's time had been an enormous stable, but which, in the adaptation of old buildings to new purposes, had been converted into a barracks for European troops. There was quite a panic amongst the men. Mr Jackson appointed a committee, consisting of the deputy surgeon-general from Cawnpore, the surgeon of the regiment (Dr Cowan), and myself, to inquire into the causes and suggest what was best to be done. The weather was intensely hot at the time, but I urged, notwithstanding, that the men should at once be encamped on the Cawnpore road. The proposal was carried, and after removal the cholera rapidly ceased, and only one or two men suffered from sunstroke. The probability of this had been urged as an objec-

tion to their removal, but it was better that a few should die of sunstroke than many of cholera.

One morning Colonel Palmer of the 48th Regiment brought his daughter to see me at the Residency, and he then told me of a report that had just come of the outbreak of the troops at Meerut, and that several Europeans had been killed. Within a short time this poor girl of eighteen years of age was killed in the Residency just after the siege commenced.

I will here relate a few incidents connected with my professional life. It was reported to me that one of the queens, the third in position, was dangerously ill, and that the hakims despaired of her. I was requested by the king, through the Resident, to see the sick lady, and accordingly went to the Chutter Munzil palace, where I was received in great state and was taken to the sick-room. The chief eunuch, Bashir ud Dowlah, and others, with a number of female attendants, were present. A cashmere shawl was stretched across the room, behind which the Begum was seated. I immediately said that unless the purdah were removed nothing could be done. They made no difficulty, as it was "hakim ka hukm," and there was the lady seated upon a silver charpoy, enveloped in shawls. This was no better than a purdah. However, I knew patience was necessary, so I took a seat by the figure, Bashir ud Dowlah talking to her, telling her that without seeing her nothing could be done, she giving faint and muffled replies from the depths of the shawls. At last she put out her hand for me to feel her pulse; but immediately I attempted to touch her wrist, she wriggled off the charpoy and waddled out of the room, wrapped up in her shawls. The interview was over for that day. Profuse apologies were made, and I was asked to make allowances for feminine weakness. The next morning I went again; the same scene was repeated, and the confusion of the attendants was extreme. Meanwhile I had arrived at the conclusion that the lady who was so very active could not be so very ill! On my third visit I made

progress, and was allowed to see her face and her tongue and to ascertain something of the nature of her case. The next time she laid aside her shawls and her veil, and we sat and talked face to face, she having got over her shyness. She was very loquacious, talked like a child, and seemed very pleased with her freedom. She was a nice-looking girl of twenty-four or twenty-five. After this she was constantly asking me to go and see her. In a few days she consented to submit to an operation (paracentesis), which I performed. She got much better, and the hakims declared shortly afterwards that she had quite recovered. The result of this was that the king in durbar ordered an honorarium of 20,000 rupees to be sent to me. I received 3000! He sent me a beautiful sword with a Damascene blade and silver and ivory handle, some magnificent shawls, two long and one square, what is called a "doshala rumal," a splendid piece of Cashmere work, very heavily embroidered in gold, which I subsequently gave to the Museum in Edinburgh, and a young Arab horse. I was also presented with a silver seal with the following title engraved on it: "Mualij ud Dowlah, Hazik ul Mulk, Dr Joseph Fayrer, Bahadur, Hikmat Jung." These were sent officially through the Resident. The Arab turned out a great beauty. I kept him all through the siege, and left him at Allahabad with an officer on my way home. He was skin and bone from starvation, and I was glad to find him a good master.

I had under my care one of the young princes, not in the direct line of the succession, living with an old Begum, a relative, a very rich and important person. The boy was suffering from fever, and I attended him in consultation with Ameen ud deen Khan. For this I received Rs. 4000, sent me in a formal manner through the Resident, with many apologies for the smallness of the sum, which they considered quite inadequate.

One of the most interesting cases was the son of the prime minister, a boy of ten years old, who had broken his thigh. They had put him under the treatment of a Chinese

surgeon, but as he was not doing well, the Nawab through the Resident asked me to see him. The minister and all his attendants came to the inner door to meet me, and I was carried from the carriage to the entrance in a silver *tonjon*. Amongst the suite were two or three European officers in the king's service. I was taken into the *mahal*, the ladies all cowering behind screens, and found the poor little fellow with his broken thigh tied up tightly in a short cradle of bamboo splints. He was in great pain, had high fever, and the limb was much swollen from constriction,—in fact it was on the point of becoming gangrenous. This constricting splint was immediately removed, and the limb was placed on an ordinary long splint. He was soon relieved, fell asleep, and the fever left him. He made an excellent recovery, without any shortening of the limb. The minister and the Begum, the boy's mother, were very pleased and full of gratitude; for he was the life of the house, and a pretty, bright little fellow he was. This occurred shortly after my marriage. The Begum wanted to send my wife some jewels and gold ornaments, but I declined them. The minister entreated me to let him do what he liked. I expressed my appreciation of his kindness, accepted an Arab horse, and said if he would in due time formally send me a proper fee, I would take it. He sent Rs. 2000.

On another occasion a rich *mahajun* (merchant) brought his wife in a palanquin to my house and begged me to prescribe for her. I was only allowed to feel her pulse, the hand being put out of the partially opened door. This and her husband's report of her condition enabled me to prescribe some simple remedy which appeared to do good. A few days after, one morning when returning from my ride, I found a splendidly caparisoned horse with velvet and silver trappings standing at the door; the merchant was waiting in the hall. He made a salaam as he came up with a folded handkerchief in his hands, and lying on it a beautiful ruby ring. He said his wife was quite well, and this was his

acknowledgment. I declined both with many thanks. There were other similar offers, but only in cases where there could be no doubt about illness, and where I took care that the Resident should be informed, did I accept any honorarium.

When I first made the acquaintance of Agha Ali Khan, the Chakladar, he was suffering from a severe renal affection, and came to me at the instance of the Resident. He improved considerably, and in course of time, when about to leave Lucknow, came to say good-bye. After a little conversation, looking very mysterious, he put his hand in his pocket and pulled out a bag of gold mohurs, containing from 50 to 100, and begged me to accept it, but I immediately declined. He seemed hurt, and said, "What is this to me? I am rich, you have restored me to health; what else could I offer?" I said it was too much, but if he would in the course of the day send me a smaller sum by a *chobdar*, allowing every one to see how much he sent, I would accept it; and after a short time he took his leave. In about an hour a *chobdar* arrived with 20 *ashrafis* on a tray. Years afterwards, when I was revisiting Lucknow after the Mutiny and staying with a friend, Agha Ali came to see me and repeated his offer, saying he had never forgotten my kindness and there could be no possible objection now. Of course I declined, but thanked him for his kind intentions. There could have been no motive then, for I was a mere visitor to Lucknow with no local influence. It was simply kindly feeling and gratitude, and I have often seen this in natives. Hearing that the friend with whom I was staying was fond of pigeons, the next day he sent him a most extraordinary selection of rare varieties.

An interesting incident, tragic in its termination, occurred about this time. One morning at the hospital my attention was drawn to a very fine-looking man who presented himself with some ailment. I noticed that his right arm was disabled, and on inquiry he told me he was one of the king's *peilwhans* (wrestlers); that some time ago in wrestling with

another famous athlete he had been thrown and had his arm broken, since when his occupation was gone. The fracture had been badly treated, and there was no union. On being told that if he would submit to an operation his arm might be restored to utility, he seemed incredulous, but assented. I exposed the disunited ends, cut them off and brought them together, and placed the arm in a splint. The operation succeeded perfectly, and in due time he left the hospital with the bone reunited and the arm as well as ever, except rather weak. I did not hear of him again for some time, and then in the following manner. One day the apothecary at the hospital asked me to see the body of a man who had been shot. He was quite dead, with several slug-wounds in the throat. It was my quondam patient of the fracture, and this was how he came by his end. After leaving the hospital he went to Nagpore, where he quite regained his strength and skill in wrestling, and returned to Lucknow in the hopes of resuming his old place. Shortly afterwards, when walking in the chowk, he met his old antagonist and immediately challenged him, saying he hoped to have another tussle with him ere long. Every one in Lucknow in those days went about armed. This man had a blunderbuss in his hand with which he immediately shot his former antagonist dead, and his body was brought to the hospital. I tried, but in vain, to be allowed to preserve the united bone. The murderer was not, to my knowledge, punished. Justice in crimes of that sort was very lax in those days. Of course this incident was before the annexation. I don't remember that the punishment of death was ever inflicted in my time under the king's rule, except upon a notorious dacoit, and he, I think, would have escaped had the Oudh Government not known that his violence and depredations had extended to British subjects. In this sense, at all events, they were not cruel.

CHAPTER V.

TIGER-SHOOTING EXPEDITIONS.

First expedition to the Terai. — *Companions—Description of camp and equipage — Number of elephants — Rivers, swamps, and forests — Physical characters of the country — Localities in which big game found — Fauna of Terai — Forest trees — Climate — Unhealthiness at certain seasons—Numbers of tigers, deer, and other game killed.*

A second expedition—*My companions subsequently killed in the Mutiny— The circulation of the chupattees.*

On the 15th March 1855 Boileau, Drury, Hearsey, and I found our camp assembled on the banks of the Chowka, at Seetlapore Ghât. We had twenty elephants—sixteen of which I brought from Lucknow—a host of camels, hackeries (country carts), sowars, sepoys, and *khas burdars* (men with sword and shield), and numerous camp-followers—in all about 160 men. The next day we moved to Puleria, and heard of a tiger which had wounded a man near a neighbouring village. We set off after it the next morning, found the man, and dressed his wounds; but though we searched carefully we did not find the tiger. The next day we beat an extensive nul swamp, and when about half way through it the elephants began to give sign, and whilst I was peering into the long grass in front of me, a mahout at the edge of the swamp called out, "Sher! sher!" I pushed on towards the edge, and was in time to see Drury take two long shots as a large tiger cantered across the plain. He was soon hidden in the long grass, and we were obliged to recross the

river empty-handed. This swamp appears to be his head-quarters, for we saw the remains of more than one kill, one of which was quite fresh: the ground about was covered with his footprints.

Next morning, in beating over the ground again, we came upon the remains of a recently killed buffalo, and learning from the *aheers* (cowherds) that there were two tigers not far off, we pushed on in their direction. We crossed a small stream called the Girhua, and passed through a belt of forest into a grassy plain, where we saw some recent footprints. The outskirts of the forest consist of the seesu (*Dalbergia sissu*), dâk (*Butea frondosa*), catechu (*Khair mimosa*), semel (*Bombax hetaphyllum*), and other trees. There are numerous open grassy glades in which the spotted deer and the hog deer are found. The tiger was not there, and recrossing the Girhua we made for Chelhua swamp. The elephants entered and soon gave sign, when about forty yards in front of us a large male tiger bounded across the opening and plunged into the jungle on the other side. The elephants bolted, only giving us time to get a couple of hurried shots at him. We stopped them and got back to the head of the swamp into which the big tiger had just crossed. He turned and charged through the line, and as he recrossed the opening Hearsey got the first shot, and rolled him over with a ball through his back. We pushed up to the place where he lay struggling in the grass, and emptying our barrels into him, left him lying dead to go after a second tiger which had also doubled back, broken cover, and was cantering across the plain. Boileau came up with him in the long grass and rolled him over; but he picked himself up immediately and charged the elephants, when two more shots secured him. We padded both the tigers (the first was 9 feet 5 inches in length, the second 8 feet), and went to our camp.

The next day (March 20) we encamped near Bhurtapore. We found a "kill" in the forest, and put up quantities of spotted deer, hog-deer, jungle-fowl, peafowl, and partridges, but did not fire at them for fear of disturbing the tiger. Our

way lay through the forest and on the banks of the Cowriali in long grass jungle. The forest became denser, and in some places the wildness and beauty of the scene were striking. The country here is under water at certain seasons of the year, as is evident from the quantities of driftwood scattered over the ground.

The village of Bhurtapore is near the banks of the Cowriali, and has a considerable population. It was formerly one of the headquarters of the Buddick dacoits, and from here they travelled all over India, even as far as Bombay. Colonel Sleeman almost completely rooted them out as well as the Thugs.

Boileau, Drury, and I went out the following day, and before noon had killed a full-grown tigress. She broke cover a long way ahead of us and concealed herself in the long grass. Boileau got first shot when she went off, we following as hard as the elephants could go. Suddenly I saw Drury's elephant sink down on her forelegs: the tigress had charged right home and got her by the trunk, but she was very staunch and soon shook the tigress off. The latter charged again, and as she was hugging the elephant's foreleg I gave her two bullets which brought her down. She made another attempt to charge, and received the contents of five or six barrels before she died. She remained in the crouching posture when dead as if ready for a spring, and it was a moment or two before we realised that she was dead. She was a beautifully marked, full-grown tigress. On this occasion I was on Hearsey's elephant, a very fine animal, perfectly fearless, but a little unsteady: she would have rushed at the tigress had she been allowed. This was Luchmi, which I afterwards bought. This locality is very unhealthy at certain seasons, and numbers of natives presented themselves asking for medicine for spleen and fever. Dropsy, enlarged spleen, rheumatism, and distorted joints seemed common.

On March 22 we were taken to a recent kill in a beautiful glade in the forest on the borders of a swamp. We beat

through it, but the tiger was not there. In another long and deep swamp with steep, wooded banks, which were rather difficult for the elephants, we found a tiger. He got up with the usual two grunting roars and came right at Boileau and me. We both fired: one bullet struck him in the hip and turned him. He crossed the swamp, where he met Hearsey and Drury, who shot him dead as he charged up the bank. He measured 10 feet 1 inch as he lay dead, and was so heavy that we had difficulty in padding him. Soon after killing the tiger we met the rajah of Malwara: he was a fine-looking young man of twenty-one, with hill features, lived in the hills, and had come down to look after his revenue. In such a wild, uncultivated country it must, one would imagine, be very small.

The next day we recrossed the river and pushed on to a patch of long grass, out of which a tiger bolted and made across the plain, we following as hard as we could make the elephants go, the *piadahs* urging them on with the *moogri* (a small club with spikes). We soon came to a swamp, and forming line, beat right through it. The ground was high on one side, and Boileau remained there to receive the tiger if it went that way. We soon put it up. I got the first shot at about 40 yards: the bullet struck it in the neck. It rolled over quite dead, and was found floating in the water. It turned out to be a full-grown tigress, beautifully marked. We then went on in the direction of the Muela swamp, near at hand. This is a favourite haunt for tigers, python, and crocodiles. Boileau shot a large python, which glided away with a bullet through his body into the impenetrable jungle.

The rajah having joined us, we had a line of twenty-five elephants: one-half went with Boileau and the rajah to the forest side, the other half with Hearsey, Drury, and myself to the open side. We had not gone far when a number of langoor (entellus) monkeys which were in the trees suddenly began to spring violently about, shaking the branches like a whirlwind. They had evidently seen something

which alarmed them. In a minute I heard a cry of "Bagh! bagh!" A big tiger had gone out before Boileau's elephant and taken refuge in a large clump of nul grass, out of which he would not break. The swamp was too heavy for the elephants to go in, so we threw in *anars* (fireworks), which, however, would not burn because of the water. We kept firing into the nul, and Drury having got a momentary glimpse of the tiger, gave him a shot which appeared to quiet him, for the grass ceased to move. After waiting a little, two *khas burdars* slipped down from the elephant, went into the grass, and dragged him out by the tail almost dead.

After lunch we pushed along the swamp, which began to alter in character, the deep water ceasing and a mixture of nul and ratwa stretching across the hollow, interspersed with willow and wild jamun trees (*Eugenia jambolana*). The elephants formed line again across this, and within ten minutes we put up another tiger. Having received one or two shots, he charged straight at Drury's and Hearsey's elephants, which were a little in advance of mine. The next shot turned him, and he made off again up the swamp amongst the trees. We followed, and I managed by going higher up the bank to get a little ahead of the others. In a few minutes I knew from the agitation of my elephant that the tiger was near. On looking down into the hollow, here dry, I saw him crouching under a small bush about 40 yards distant, and very magnificent he looked, his ears back, his eyes glaring, his back well arched, ready for a charge. My elephant was much excited, and was kicking the ground and trumpeting, though quite staunch, shaking the howdah dreadfully. I got as steady a shot as possible; but, to my surprise, the gun made a very feeble report, and the second barrel did the same. The tiger was now charging straight at me. I seized a second gun and fired, but with a like result. The tiger was now close on my elephant. Drury and Hearsey came up at this juncture and gave him two shots, which turned him in their direction,

and as he went along the bank Drury rolled him over with a bullet through his back. He picked himself up again and staggered a little farther down the hollow. We followed and emptied our barrels into him, and there left him, for in the meantime another tiger had been put up by Boileau on the other side.

On examining into the cause of my gun's mishap, I found that the loader had just begun a new flask of powder, which either was damp or bad from age. This was an experience I did not forget in future. I borrowed a flask from Hearsey, and off we went after number four. We got him also, but not before he had been on one of the elephant's heads. He was soon shaken off, and, crossing to the other side, was killed by Boileau and the rajah. The elephants, with the tigers hanging across their backs, were a fine sight. The beat then lay through the forest, chiefly of seesu and sâl trees. We crossed the rapids, and on the banks of the river saw some gold-washers' huts: they showed us the black-looking sand from which the gold is separated by washing. We saw the gold dust also after separation, and some little nuggets of fine gold made by melting it down. I bought some of these, and subsequently had them made into a ring as a souvenir of Kulwapore.

On returning to the tents we measured and skinned the tigers. My tigress was full grown, and was 9 feet. The others were 9 feet, 8 feet 11 inches, and 8 feet 10 inches. In preparing the skins, as they stretch very much, it is necessary that the due proportions should be preserved. They are pegged out upon the ground until dry, and are well rubbed with arsenical soap, or salt and alum, or even only with wood-ashes. In this state, when quite dry, they may be carried any distance, when laid hair to hair. It is better to remove the claws if you wish to preserve them, otherwise they will probably be stolen. Any attempt to preserve the whiskers may be abandoned, for the natives *will* steal them whatever you do. I found that even a sentry placed over the skins was not enough to prevent this. The fat also is in

great request: a full-grown tiger yields a quantity which is generally melted down, kept in bottles, and valued by the natives as a remedy for many complaints.

On March 24 we recrossed the river and went straight to our beat of the day before, to try that part of it left unbeaten. We were again fortunate, for we found a tigress with two small cubs. We put her out of the swamp, and she galloped with the cubs into a broad open space covered with long dry grass, and there came to bay. She immediately charged the line of elephants, the cubs running about in all directions. She was received with a volley from the howdahs, and ceased to charge; but we saw the grass moving and heard her growling, went to the spot, and another barrel or two finished her. In the meantime two of us went after the cubs, which were charging here and there in the grass. They ran the gauntlet of several shots, and one got away into the forest badly wounded. I came upon the other cub, which, charging like a full-grown tiger, grasped the elephant round the leg, when I pointed the gun downwards and gave him his quietus. The tigress was a beautiful creature, light, lean, active, and vicious.

On March 25 we moved our camp to Sonaputta, on the banks of the Mohaan. On the way we beat out a long nullah with grass and tree jungle, and here and there a very heavy swamp. We nearly lost an elephant in one of these. She was embedded, and was not extricated until we had cut down branches of trees and thrown them to her, and had her pulled by ropes tied to the other elephants. We found Colonel Platt, a noted sportsman, encamped on the banks of the Mohaan. He had already shot three tigers and a cub in this neighbourhood. Our tents were pitched in a clump of very fine forest trees on the steep bank of the river. Yesterday we had a glorious view of the snowy ranges beyond the gorge through which the Cowriali, formed by the junction of two streams, rushes to the plains. We have not attained any elevation, but the climate is totally different to that we left, even at Seetapore. The nights are cold, the days

SKINNING A TIGER.

warm; but in the shade the atmosphere is fresh and cool. This is attributable to proximity to the hills, the great extent of forest, and the numerous mountain streams. The Indian hemp (*Cannabis indicus*) grows here luxuriantly. We found our tents pitched on a patch of it, and the bruised plants gave out a heavy, disagreeable odour. Tobacco thrives in the scattered villages, and here and there a few patches of grain cultivation are to be seen—one would think barely sufficient for even this sparse population.

On the 26th we tried the river for mahaseer. One of about 10 lb. was caught and several smaller fish. Near our camp there were one or two Bunjarrah villages. They are a wandering, gipsy-like race who live chiefly by hunting and selling the produce of the Terai. We tried for a tigress, of which we had heard, the next day, but did not get her, though we found a newly killed cow. We therefore moved westwards towards a large swamp near Hilowna Gowrie. The grass was short, and there was very little cover. Suddenly I heard two or three shots to my left, and in a moment the familiar grunts of an angry tiger. Drury and Boileau had put him up out of a clump of long grass, and sent him over to Hearsey and me. There was an open space about a foot deep in water between us. He charged us in the most determined manner, and was almost on my elephant when I turned him with a couple of shot, sending him off to a clump of grass, in which he lay down. We followed, and before we finished him he had been on Boileau's elephant's hind-quarters. Drury gave him the *coup de grâce* in that position. When we entered the swamp,[1] in which there was good grazing ground, there was not a cow or buffalo in it. As we came out with the tiger on the elephant's back, we met them going in in numbers. It is wonderful how instinct seems to tell them of the proximity of their enemy!

The number of cattle killed by tigers in the Terai annually

[1] Some of the swamps spoken of were filled with long grass called *nul*, from 8 to 10 feet high: others were more open, with clumps of such grass here and there.

must be very great. They prefer them to any other food, as they give less trouble than deer and make a better meal. A tiger kills every second or third day, and when one or two establish themselves near a grazing village, they very soon decimate the herd. They rarely attack men except when provoked. Some, it is true, are man-eaters, but we met none such then. They seem at times to have extraordinary forbearance. Already we had met two men who had been in a tiger's grip and yet were allowed to go away comparatively unhurt. I believe a tiger would not touch a man unless he was very hard pressed by hunger, or the man disturbed him. An ordinary tiger nearly always tries to get away when first found, but when wounded fights like a devil incarnate. But whatever indifference the tiger may show the man, it is exceeded by that of the man for the tiger! I have seen a native fishing with a hand-net alone in a pool in the swamp where he knew a tiger was lurking, watching his opportunity to seize one of the cattle grazing near; and the cowherds have over and over again been known to beat the tiger off the body of a cow just struck down. Singly, of course, they dare not do this, but three or four of them together will do so: if they stand firm and threaten him with their iron-headed sticks, the tiger gives it up and sneaks off into the jungle. When buffaloes find themselves in the presence of a tiger, they collect in a circle with their heads outwards, the big ones in front, and in this position they defy him and he dare not attack them. In such a case the cowherd not unfrequently gets into the centre, or rather they put him there, all forming round him, where he is perfectly safe, for no tiger could touch him; or sometimes he gets on the back of one of the buffaloes. It is the stray ones of the herd that are taken. The tiger rushes upon the beast, and as he strikes it down with his irresistible forearm, at the same time buries his fangs in the victim's throat and holds him till life is extinct. He then leaves the body for a time, but soon returns to take his first meal, and will continue to return to it until after decomposition has set in.

On the next day (March 28) we made a long, unsuccessful series of beats over what was a few years ago one of the best finds for tigers, but got nothing. Rangnawas is an enormous swamp in the sâl forest, at least a mile and a half long and perhaps half that breadth, with cover for any numbers of tigers, buffaloes, elephants, and rhinoceroses. We beat it as well as we could, but saw nothing. Elephants were formerly caught here, and at certain seasons they still come, for we saw comparatively recent traces of them. The rhinoceros was more rarely found. We tried several other beats in the neighbourhood without any success.

On March 29 we travelled for about fourteen miles through dense belts of sâl forest and plains covered with long grass, which in some places had been burnt. In these plains are cattle-feeding villages and enclosures with a few huts for the wretched creatures that herd the miserable half-starved cattle. Several times we saw the tracks of wild elephants, but very little game of any description. In the heart of the forest one seldom does see anything except an occasional herd of spotted deer and a few birds or monkeys: the predominant feature is stillness and absence of life. In crossing one of the plains Drury shot two florican which he got down and stalked. Our camp was on the bank of the Kundhwa amongst some seesu trees near a village named Durruk, inhabited by Taroos, a race which claims descent from the Chowhan Chatteries, a sect of Rajpoots, but are probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the Terai, and the only members of the human race who can live all the year round in its pestiferous atmosphere. They are said, though I think the appearance of many of them belied it, not to suffer from malaria. We had some of them into the tent after dinner to consult about shikar. One old fellow promised to take us to a tiger the next day, and he offered to fix him to the spot by an incantation. Of course we were only too pleased, and he set to work with a brass dish and some dry rice.

On March 30 we set out to search for the spellbound tiger; but, for some good reason of course, the charm had failed, and he was not to be found! Our way lay through a magnificent sâl forest, of which many trees were cut and roughly hewn into logs. The price of a tree in this district is 8 annas: ere it reaches Lucknow its cost has increased considerably. The scenery of this part of the Terai is really very beautiful. The lower range of hills, now close to us, filling up the background of every break in the forest, with the constantly recurring glades and undulating hills, afforded a charm of variety which had hitherto been wanting.

The Terai (*ter* = moist) is a tract of jungle-land from fifteen to thirty miles in breadth, lying along the lower ranges of the Himalayas. Beyond that is another narrow belt called the Bhabur. This is one great filter-bed of sand and vegetation through which the water draining from the hills slowly percolates, until, being intercepted by a bed of clay, it reappears upon the surface in the form of shallow wells, swamps, and a general diffusion of subsoil moisture. This belt of land is full of fine forests, which no doubt influence the surrounding country by increasing the rainfall, modifying the supply of water to the streams, and the general diffusion of moisture. The roots of the trees and the vegetation on the hillsides have the effect of impeding the rush of water, and of thus regulating the supply which will feed the canals and reservoirs where irrigation is required during the dry season. Such a condition of things, though eminently useful in this respect, has the disadvantage of being most unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, the worst being that after the rains.

On March 31 we moved through broad belts of forest and over an extensive plain, the ground here and there being broken and hilly, interspersed with dry nullahs. Whilst passing through the open ground in the forest, an aheer ran after us and said he could show us a tiger. We retraced our steps, when he took us to an extensive patch

of long grass, surrounded by a deep but dry nullah, which we beat out in every direction but unsuccessfully. It is almost vain to try to find tigers in these places so near the forest: they sneak out when they hear the elephants coming. We went on towards our next encampment, recrossing the Mohaan, and on the other side of that stream we found an extensive plain in which we got some small game. I secured my first florican here, a fine male bird, having stalked him.

The jungle and peafowl are numerous enough near the edges of the forest, whilst the black partridge (*Francolinus vulgaris*) is found wherever the long grass grows. One finds also the florican (*Sypheotis bengalensis*), the leek (*Sypheotis aurita*), the bustard (*Eupodotis edwardsi*), the khair or swamp partridge (*Francolinus gularis*), the grey partridge (*Perdix orientalis*), and also a curious bird, the four-spurred partridge (*Gallo perdix*), called the chau khara, and quail of three or four varieties. In the plains the coolung are common and the bittern and egret. The common snipe, jack snipe, and painted snipe are all common enough, and an occasional solitary snipe (*Gallinago solitaria*), and there is no lack of predaceous birds.

The spotted deer (*Cervus axis*) are in herds, but not nearly so numerous as I had been led to suppose. The hog-deer (*Cervus porcinus*) bounds out from the long grass in all the openings of the forest. The muntjac (*Cervus muntjac*), barking deer, or karker is also found in the forest. Of the larger deer, the gond or swamp deer (*Rucervus duvaucelii*) and the sambhur (*Cervus aristotelis*) are found, but we have seen none as yet. On the outskirts of the Terai the black-buck (*Antilope besoarctica*), the ravine deer (*Gazella benetii*), and the nylgau (*Portax picta*) are also met with.

Tigers, leopards, jackals, and occasionally wolves and sloth bears, are also denizens of this part of the country. The last are rare—we have not seen one as yet. The elephant and rhinoceros are found in the Terai, though

they are perhaps more numerous farther east. Of late years the rhinoceros has been very rare here. A few years ago Hearsey shot two in this neighbourhood.

The wild cat (*Felis chaus* and *F. bengalensis*), the civet cat (*Viverra zibetha*), the porcupine (*Histrix leucerea*), and the common and hispid hare are also found, especially at the foot of the hills. The wild boar is common everywhere, and the pigmy hog (*Porcula salvania*) is also found, though I never succeeded in getting one.

In the swamps and among the trees the python (*Moluurus*) is not uncommon. The cobra, bungarus, daboia, and trimerisurus are also found, but not frequently. Crocodiles are common in the swamps and rivers, and gavials in the rivers. These contain a variety of fish, of which the mahaseer is perhaps the finest. He is a noble-looking fish with very large scales, takes out the line, and gives as much sport as a salmon, but is not so good to eat. They are caught in the rapids with a fly or spoon bait, in the slower streams with ground-bait.

The high conical mounds produced by the white ants are a marked feature of the scenery of the forest and plains, and a form of land crab is also not uncommon: the ground in certain places is rough and irregular from the presence of little mounds thrown up by them.

On April 1, after passing through the forest for some miles, we emerged on an extensive plain and swamp named the Munjila Tal. There was too much water in the centre for the elephants to go into it, so we beat along the edges and there found a very fine tiger, which got up out of a patch of grass in front of me just as the loader was calling my attention to fresh footprints. He tried to make for the forest, but as he crossed in front of my elephant over an open space between the long grass and the forest he got the contents of four barrels in the shoulder and ribs. He staggered on up the rising ground, and about 100 yards ahead we came up with him stretched out on some felled trees, which he was biting in his dying agony. This tiger

had a beautiful skin, with the peculiar dusky hue of the forest. He was 9 feet 10 inches as he lay dead before being skinned. We struck off across the plain through a belt of forest to another large swamp called the Badi Tal, crossed the plain again on the other side of it, and reached our camp on the banks of a small running stream, on the outskirts of a patch of forest which bounds it on that side.

I was much struck with the magnificence of the sâl trees, and the enormous size of the elephant creeper, which clings to or hangs in festoons from them—*Bauhinia scandens*, called by the natives *morain*. This plant extends over great tracts of the forest, depending in loops and fantastic folds from the branches of the trees, of every thickness, from a walking-stick to a man's arm, or thicker, climbing and descending, in some places smothering the tree it holds in its embraces, and running riot everywhere, appearing to take complete possession of the forest. The leaves are large, ovate, and cleft at the apex; the flower is papilionaceous and the seed-vessels enormous, pods as big as an ordinary sabre. The ebony tree (*Diospyros ebenum*) grows here also, though not to any great size. It is dark and sombre-looking, with corrugated bark and deep-green foliage. The *cumbi* tree was pointed out by the natives, from the bark of which they make the matches for their firelocks. It is separated from the wood by beating, is tough and fibrous, and burns excellently as tinder.

Our next halting-place was Chandan Chowki, called also by the Taroos and *aheers* "Sahib ootar." Near this place Hodgson was pulled out of the howdah and badly hurt by a tiger. Hearsey told me the story. Some years previously he was shooting with Hodgson and Wroughton, when they found a tigress in a patch of dâl. They were going along in line, when, hearing a shot, he turned and saw her on Hodgson's elephant's head, standing over the mahout with her fore-paws on the rail of the howdah and Hodgson's hand in her mouth. The

elephant was very restive, shaking and rolling the howdah. Hearsey then saw Hodgson dragged out, and both fell to the ground together. The tigress immediately rose, and retired to a piece of grass cover close by. Here, as she was on the point of springing again, Wroughton came up and killed her, Hodgson having previously wounded her with his first shot. It must have been a fearful moment when he struggled with the tigress, his hand in her mouth, and they fell to the ground together. He recovered, but I believe sustained some permanent injury. Hearsey had seen another man taken out of the howdah by a tiger. He was dragged out from the khwass behind, fell to the ground, and was killed immediately.

I believe it to be a rare occurrence for a tiger to make such a spring: it is only when very infuriated and savage that they do so. They often spring, but seldom get higher than with their fore-paws on the elephant's head or their claws fixed into the pad under the howdah, from which they are generally quickly shaken or shot off. The tiger is not nearly so active an animal as I believe he is generally supposed to be: in this respect a leopard far excels him. When they try to escape across the plain they are soon overtaken, because they are very rapidly winded, and then they sell their lives as dearly as possible. After feeding, a large male tiger is an easy prey. A tigress, especially with cubs, is quite another creature: she is as active as she is vindictive, fights to the last, and seldom dies without doing mischief or before she has been on the heads or the tails of some of the elephants. She also will take the initiative and charge before being wounded, which a tiger seldom does, unless cornered.

On April 2 we took a westerly course across an extensive plain surrounded by the forest, and came at length to a swamp called Chau-Keerie. Here we were informed that a she-bear and cubs were likely to be found, but though we beat out this swamp and others, we did not find them. In crossing the plain we saw a few hog-deer. This, with the

exception of a florican and a few partridges, was all our bag contained that day.

On April 3 at sunrise the thermometer in my tent was 56°. Our road lay nearly south through the forest and across the plains until we arrived on the sandy banks of the Surjoo, at the village of Coosumber. On the other side of this stream there is a large *gowrie* (cattle-feeding place). Not very far from this, Hearsey told me, were to be seen traces of an ancient city said to be built by the early Mussulman conquerors of India. The ruins show that it must at one time have been a flourishing and prosperous place. It is very desolate now, and completely overgrown with jungle. We beat through one long grassy nullah, a watercourse in the rains, where we expected to find a tiger, but were disappointed.

The morning of April 4 was very cool: the temperature was 52° at 6 A.M., and had been colder in the night. The hills are now almost hidden from sight, from the combined effect of the smoke of the burning grass and distance. We crossed the river, and, with the elephants in line, went towards Munjgye swamp. Our guide was an old *aheer* who had some years ago been severely wounded by a tiger while attempting to rescue a bullock it had just seized. There is something interesting in an animal or a man who has escaped alive from the claws of a tiger. At least, so I thought when I saw a wounded buffalo staggering about, looking very faint and wretched, and when the old *aheer* showed me the scars of his wounds. About half-way through the swamp I saw Boileau's elephant bolting off to the left, while the pads were in great confusion, rushing in all directions. I noticed also that the mahouts and the men on the elephants' backs were covering themselves with their chudders, and Boileau was wrapping himself up in a blanket. I soon knew what it all meant. A swarm of bees had been disturbed by one of the elephants. They were soon buzzing about my head, dashing in the most savage way at my face and hands. Keeping them off as well as I could with

my hat, I got out the blanket, carried for such an emergency, and having wrapped it over my head and shoulders, escaped with only one or two stings. My loader, the *piadah*, and the elephant were stung in several places. Fortunately we were in open ground. The elephants did not stop for at least a couple of miles, and then by setting fire to the grass, and standing in the smoke, we got rid of the bees, that continued to follow us for at least half an hour, and such a set of objects when we got together again I never saw! Several of the men's faces were so swollen and altered that no one would have recognised them. We collected together again in about an hour, and notwithstanding our miserable plight, we could not resist laughing heartily at the misadventure.

On April 5 we crossed two streams, the Ghoghie and the Chowka, the latter of which here flows over a very sandy bed and is a considerable stream. The elephants were just able to ford it, and we followed in a boat. On the other side of the river we came upon the most treacherous quicksands we had yet met with. The ground seemed hard and firm as I crossed it, but under the elephants following it was undulating and trembling. Suddenly Boileau's elephant sank up to the girths, and she seemed to be settling down rapidly. The poor old thing, who was blind, though very capable as a shooting elephant notwithstanding, was so completely entangled that she did not attempt to extricate herself. Some distance behind her a small tusker had also got entangled, and was roaring vigorously for help. It was not until we took off the howdah and pads, and cut down tamarisk branches and pushed them, with the pads, under the elephants' heads, that we were able to extricate them. We then hastened on to our new camp near a village named Ramnugger.

On April 6 our road lay across a broad plain. We passed through two belts of sâl trees, much smaller here, and saw a hyæna, but nothing else. Later on we came on some antelope. I got down, and after a long stalk succeeded in

getting a fine black buck. We also came upon some wild pigs: one was knocked over, and a boar charged the line, getting away unhurt. Our tents were in a tope of mango-trees, and we found, to our dismay, a large swarm of bees clustering to one of them; but we took care that they should not be disturbed, and they let us alone.

On April 7 our way lay across a cultivated plain, and then through a belt of sâl jungle, after which we found a long, low-lying piece of swampy ground, through which the Ool slowly makes its way. At each end of this swamp are certain patches of dense cover, called *ketarahs*, or cages, from their appearance. They consist of the willow, wild jamun, rattan, and other underwood, with a quantity of water. They are often good finds for tigers, but we put the pad elephants through them and found nothing: they say there has been too much water this year. In crossing the plain we got some hog-deer and peafowl amongst the long grass; and in one of the wettest parts of the swampy ground, where the water was above the elephants' feet, Boileau shot a python 11 feet 2 inches in length. He disappeared under the water, but was fished up by one of the *piadahs* with the *ancus*. Our shooting was now over. We pushed on, and arrived at Gola Gokarran on the 9th. This is a celebrated place of pilgrimage for Hindoos, there being a sacred tank and temples. The mango-topes surrounding the tank swarm with monkeys, very tame and bold, and the tank itself is full of fish, which almost ate out of our hands. This is a very ancient shrine. The zemindar of this district said that the images, most of which have their noses, arms, or legs broken off, were mutilated by Aurungzebe when he passed through Oudh. This is probable enough. Goseins and Brahmins swarm about the place and divide the profits of pilgrimages, which are considerable. They showed us the residence of the *mohunt* (high priest), which was close to the principal temple, in which, in a sort of dark well, the chief idol resides: above this hung a string of bells, which a devotee, who was muttering Sanscrit he did not understand, rang

from time to time as a part of his devotions. A naked madman was gibbering and howling about the enclosure of the temple: they said he had murdered his brother, but was now quite harmless. He lives about the place, and is a fit companion for the monkeys, and the lazy Goseins who are the priests of the shrine. The mango-topes here are very fine, and twice a-year give shelter to thousands of pilgrims who come from all parts of Hindustan to visit and worship at it. The *seewallahs* (tombs) of the Goseins are dotted all over the place. They are buried, while the Brahmins are burned.

Our bag consisted of twelve tigers, besides deer and small game. We heard subsequently that Wroughton's party killed sixteen tigers, two bears, and one leopard. Colonel Platt killed twelve tigers. These, with others killed by Ricketts of Shahjehanpore and the Rajah of Durruk, account for about fifty tigers taken out of that part of the Terai this year.

Thus concluded my first tiger-shooting expedition, which left me with a greater keenness than ever for sport. I had been associated with three first-class sportsmen, most excellent companions, and friends for whom I entertained the greatest regard.

In 1857 I made another tiger-shooting expedition into the Terai with Mr Martin Gubbins, and we were joined by the Nawab Munower ud Dowlah with his line of elephants, and from time to time by the civil officers of the districts through which we passed, and also by sundry rajahs and zemindars. During this expedition we killed eleven tigers. Soon after we had started we heard that Boileau, C. S. of Gondah, and four sowars had been killed by the famous dacoit Fuzzul Ali, and later on a proclamation reached us offering a reward for the apprehension of him or any of his followers.

All my companions except Gubbins were victims of the Mutiny within the year. Thomason was murdered at Shahjehanpore, Gonne in the Mullapore district; Colonel Fisher

was killed by the men of his own regiment; Thornhill was murdered at Seetapore; Lester was shot through the neck during the siege of Lucknow, and died three days afterwards; Graydon was killed after the first relief of Lucknow. The Nawab Munower ud Dowlah, I heard with much regret, died soon afterwards. He was treated with great indignity by the mutineers during their occupation of Lucknow, and had all his property destroyed. The rajahs and zemindars who joined our party were also concerned in the Mutiny, but only one or two were seriously implicated, and they were transported to the Andaman Islands. Gubbins himself died within a few years.

It was when we were beginning our trip at one of our first halts that we heard of the celebrated chupattees. They were even then circulating in Oudh as elsewhere. They had been in the village near where we were encamped, and their meaning and importance were a subject of discussion. We certainly thought they were meant as a warning or signal of some kind, being passed on from village to village; but no native could or would tell us what they really meant, more than that it was a warning that they were to be on the look out for something. Their real significance was soon to be revealed.

CHAPTER VI.

INSURRECTIONS IN LUCKNOW AND PROVINCE OF OUDH.

Rumours of widespread disaffection and mutinous outbreaks—Sir H. Lawrence's preparations in the Residency—List of those in my house in June and during the siege—Mutinous outbreaks in Lucknow—First overt act at Moosa Bagh—Sepoys disarmed—Efforts made to allay irritation and dispel illusions—Durbar held by Sir Henry Lawrence—Seizure of Delhi and proclamation of king—Concentration of troops in the Residency and Mutchi Bhowan—Force despatched to Cawnpore—Murder of Hayes, Barbor, and R. Fayrer—Threatenings of epidemic disease in the Residency—People of Lucknow joining the rebels—Communications with Wheeler at Cawnpore—Landholders manifesting disaffection—Force despatched to banks of Ganges—Men rise and murder officers—Outbreak at cantonments on May 30—Brigadier Handscombe killed—Other officers killed and wounded—Mutineers defeated and dispersed—All women brought into Residency—Question of disarming native troops—Insurrection in the city defeated—Loyal sepoys throw in their lot with us—Civil government replaced by martial law—Preparations for defence of Residency continued—Officers, ladies, and children escaping from the district into the Residency—Decided to abandon Mutchi Bhowan and make last stand in Residency—Mutiny of military police—Establishment of batteries and formation of magazines and posts of defence in Residency—Ammunition and provisions collected and stored—Great difficulty in obtaining news from without—Unable to send help to Cawnpore—Enemy concentrating and drawing nearer—False rumour of capture of Delhi—Fall of Cawnpore—Expedition to Chinhut—Our force overwhelmed by numbers—Great loss of life—Complete investment by the enemy—Beginning of siege.

THE time that elapsed between May 1857 and March 1858 may be divided into four periods:—

Mosque
LOW LYING CULTIVATED GROUND
RIVER GOOMTEE
Mound
Innes Garrn
Debris of Houses
Mosque
Native Houses
Captan Bazar
Church Garrn
Evan's Battery
Redan Battery
ABANDONED RESIDENCY
LOW GROUNDS
Water Gate
Debris of Houses
Sheep House
RESIDENCY
Native Houses
unfinished Battery
Slaughter House
Lawn
Hospital
Bailey Guard
Treasury
Aitken's Battery
unfinished Battery
Racket Ct
TRENCH
Ommaneys Garrn
Begun Kothie Garrn
Dr Fayrers Garrn
Gateway
Bailey Guard
LOW BROKEN GROUND
Gubbins Garrn
BRIDGE
Gubbins Battery
Horse Square
Financial Garrn
CLOCK TOWER
Grant's Bastion
Goinda lines
Seikh Square
1st Square
Post Office Garrn
Native Houses
House of Younger Johannes
2d Square
Native Hospital
Sagos Garrn
Judicial Garrn
Seikh Square
Brigade Mess
Barracks
Martineere
Anderson's Garrn
Enemy's Gun's
Lane Gun
Palisade
Outpost's
Johannes House
Cawnpoor Battery
Native Houses
Johannes Shop
Mosque
Mosque
PHILLIP'S HOUSE

I. From the end of April to the end of June 1857—a time of suspense preceding the action of Chinhut.

II. The siege and defence of the Residency from June 30 to the first relief by Havelock and Outram on September 25, 1857.

III. The continuation of the siege till the final relief by Sir Colin Campbell on November 15, 1857; the evacuation of the Residency; the temporary encampment at Dil Khusha; the forced march to Cawnpore and the relief of Wyndham; the march to Allahabad.

IV. The sojourn in camp in Allahabad fort; the return to Calcutta by steamer down the Ganges; the brief stay in Calcutta until our embarkation for England in March 1858.

My house in the Residency was a large, oblong building, with a flat roof surrounded by a parapet about 3 feet high. On this bags of earth were piled, and the side which overlooked the city was used as a breastwork for riflemen. The house was built on a slope with a garden on both sides, one higher than the other. On the Residency side there was one floor, on the city side two floors, owing to the lower level of the ground on that side. There was a suite of rooms from which doors opened into the garden, and staircases into the rooms above. In one of these rooms was a swimming-bath; the others were for general purposes, and there was also a *tyekhana*, or underground room for hot weather. From near the front door a flight of steps led from the upper to the lower garden, which was prettily laid out, had a Persian well in it, and was bounded below by offices and stables for about eight or ten horses. The Bailey-guard gate was just outside one corner of the garden, and the road leading from this gate to the Residency bounded it on one side, whilst a high wall separated it on the other from the Post Office compound. On the upper side of the house was a moderate-sized garden bounded by a road, beyond which was a building known as the Begum Koti. In front the ground was planted

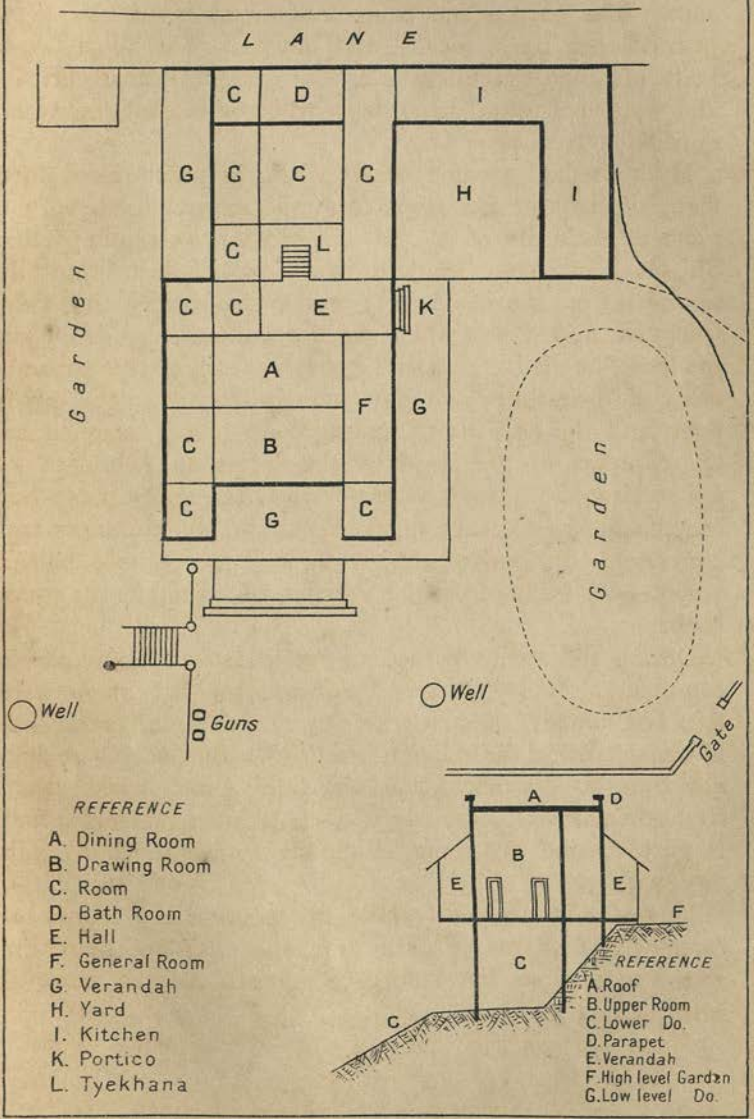
with trees and shrubs. At one corner was the entrance-gate, and across the road was the Residency and the banqueting hall, situated in a large enclosure. The other houses of the Residency were scattered about, each within its own enclosure. The garden and compounds were beautifully kept, planted with trees, shrubs, and flowers. The houses were built of small flat bricks like the ancient Roman bricks, and were in the Italian style, with verandas, flat roofs, and outside shutters.

My house had a capacious vestibule or porch raised by a flight of eight or ten steps from the ground level, with a room at each end of it. In this sheltered veranda-portico Sir H. Lawrence was laid when carried over mortally wounded from the Residency; and in the room within this, where we moved him when the fire became very heavy on the front, he died. I append a rough sketch of the arrangement of the rooms, and have marked those on the upper floor, and the *tyekhana* or underground room, occupied for a great part of the siege by the ladies and children of my garrison, because it was safer than the upper part; but they had often to leave it on account of the closeness and crowding. In one of the upper rooms my wife had a very narrow escape from the bursting of a shell in the room itself.

During the month preceding our investiture many places commanding the site were thrown down, but many were left, and among them more than one mosque, spared out of consideration for religious feelings. But indeed we had not time to do more than we did. Other houses were strengthened and fortified in a similar way to mine; but I must confine my remarks chiefly to what occurred in my own house.

This is a convenient place to mention the names of those who took refuge with me: they did not all come at the same time, but before the month of June were all with us.

PLAN OF DR. FAYRER'S HOUSE, LUCKNOW RESIDENCY.



Dr Fayrer's Garrison.

Dr Partridge.
Rev. Mr Harris.
Mrs Harris.
Colonel Halford.
Mrs Halford.
Miss Halford.
Mrs Germon.
Miss Schilling.
Lieutenant Barwell.
Mrs Barwell.
Captain Gould Weston.
Mrs T. Anderson.
Lieutenant Calvert S. Clarke.
Mrs Calvert S. Clarke.
Mrs Dashwood and two children.
Lieutenant Dashwood.
Mrs G. Boileau and four children.
Myself, my wife, and child.

Making a total of eight gentlemen, eleven ladies, and seven children.

Two children were born during the siege—to Mrs Barwell and Mrs Dashwood respectively; two died, one of Mrs Boileau's and one of Mrs Dashwood's; Lieutenant Dashwood and Colonel Halford also died. The ladies and children were provided for as we best could: several had to occupy one room, and one long room was used as a sleeping-room for the men. For the early part of the time the routine of the house went on as usual, and a very large party it was to provide for; but as long as the servants remained with us this was managed without much difficulty. I had purchased a large quantity of food of all kinds, including preserved meats and other articles, with all the wine, beer, and brandy I could procure; but it rapidly diminished before so many, and, as will be seen, was all consumed long before the siege was over, though the greatest economy was practised. I had several horses, but towards the end of the preliminary period I got rid of some of them. Gubbins was kind enough to keep my Arab for me, and I managed to keep a much-prized waler and a little old pony which had belonged to my wife's father. These outlived the siege, and the pony ultimately died in Calcutta and is now stuffed in the Asiatic Society's Museum.

The period preceding the actual outbreak was one of

great anxiety and mental tension. Accounts from other parts of India showed that the mutinous spirit was spreading, and that our position everywhere in India was becoming uncertain and precarious. Rumour asserted that an *émeute* might take place at any time, and pointed to an unsettled state of the native regiments in cantonments, and indeed of the native population in the city and everywhere in Oudh. Sir H. Lawrence, with wise prevision, began to collect stores of food and ammunition in the Residency and Mutchi Bhowan, and to make preparations for defence. It was on the 7th of May that the 7th Oudh Native Infantry, stationed at the Moosa Bagh, committed the first overt act of mutiny and refused to use their cartridges. Sir Henry directed the brigadier to parade the regiment, explain the falsity of the story about the cartridges, and endeavour to recall them to their duty, but with no result. It was ascertained afterwards that they were in communication with the 48th Native Infantry in Muriaon cantonment, and that they had asked that regiment to assist them. Sir H. Lawrence then directed that they should be disarmed, and a force of Europeans and guns was sent to do it, he and other officers being present. The regiment broke and dispersed; but some remaining, laid down their arms and submitted. The 4th Native Infantry, who had behaved well, were commended and the native officers promoted.

The hot season was now setting in, and Sir Henry Lawrence moved into the cantonments Residency, where mutiny was even then actively but silently at work. Every pains was taken by the authorities to explain the true nature of affairs to the native officers and men, as well as to all others. On May 12 Sir Henry held a durbar, which was attended by all the chief civil and military officers, European and native. He addressed them in Hindustani, denying the truth of the stories being foisted upon the people and the army that the British Government intended interference with their religion and customs. He gave them the most solemn assurance that nothing of the kind

was intended, and entreated them to remain faithful to their salt and to the Government which they had hitherto served so well: he also took this occasion to present *khilats* and rewards to some who had already evinced conspicuous loyalty. The assembly dispersed with the air of being satisfied and well pleased.

On May 14 news came of the seizure of Delhi and murder of Europeans, which followed soon after the outbreak at Meerut, and that the King of Delhi had been proclaimed sovereign of India. It was now considered expedient to move some British troops into the Residency, where so many Europeans and so much treasure were lodged. Accordingly 120 men of the 32nd Foot and about 50 of Simon's battery were brought in. The European women, soldiers' wives, and others also were placed in the *tyekhana* of the Residency, and the lower story of the banqueting hall was used for the men and the upper story as a hospital. The remainder of the 32nd was moved from the city to the cantonments, where, with the artillery, it was hoped they would overawe the three native regiments.

Up to this time we were in communication by post and telegraph with other parts of India, and the reports were menacing and unfavourable—mutiny everywhere and districts generally disorganised. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces had telegraphed to ask Sir Henry Lawrence if he could spare some Irregular Cavalry to patrol the Trunk Road and to aid in restoring the disturbed districts to order.

Cawnpore was at this time in greater difficulties than we were. The enemy was closing in in all directions around them, and Sir Hugh Wheeler sent urgent requests for aid. On the 21st May Sir Henry Lawrence despatched fifty of the 32nd under Captain Lowe to Cawnpore, whilst a force of Irregular Cavalry of the 1st, Gall's, and some of Daly's were also to go. The native officers with these squadrons of Irregular Cavalry were regarded as most trustworthy, and full confidence was placed in them. Captain Hayes

was sent with them to communicate with Sir Hugh Wheeler, and then to act as circumstances might require. He was detained by Wheeler for a short time; but finding that the cavalry were not wanted there, he moved up country on the 27th May. Lieutenant Barbor was commanding the detachment with my brother Richard as second in command, Sir Henry having given him a local commission as lieutenant. They reached Mynpoorie, and by the last letter from Hayes, dated May 30, all were well and full of confidence and spirit. On June 1, Hayes, who had been into Mynpoorie, leaving the cavalry encamped at Kerauli, a short distance from the station, was returning with Lieutenant Carey, to rejoin the men and proceed up country. He arrived just in time to find that they had risen. The following was reported to me by the native officer, Sher Sing, who returned to Lucknow. It appears that when the bugle sounded in the morning for starting, my brother had mustered his men, whilst Barbor, who had his in another tope of trees, was riding towards him. It was intensely hot, and my brother before mounting walked to a well with his charger's bridle over his arm and was drinking water from a leather cup I had given him before starting, when one of his own troopers came up behind him and cut him down through the back of the neck with his tulwar. The poor lad—he was only twenty-three—fell dead on the spot, and Sher Sing said he muttered "Mother" as he fell. There was an immediate shout and a rush to the horses. They rode at Barbor, who saw them coming and killed three of them before he was killed himself. A native officer who saw Hayes and Carey approaching shouted to them to go, as the men had risen and were beyond his control. The two officers turned at once, but Hayes was not a good rider nor well mounted. A jemadar of cavalry overtook him and passed his sword through his body: he fell, and was immediately despatched. Some of them pursued Carey for a distance, but he jumped a ditch over which they could not follow and got away. The troopers then

declared for Delhi, and marched off shouting "Deen, deen!" They were all or nearly all Mohammedans, with the exception of the Naib Rasaldar Sher Sing and some eight or ten Sikh troopers. These refused to join the others and remained behind. They took the bodies of the three murdered officers in a carriage to Mynpoorie, where they were buried, and where I subsequently erected a monument to my brother's memory. They then returned to Lucknow and gave us the sad news. Barbor and Hayes were both married, and Mrs Hayes was left with a large family. She was in cantonments, but her children had all gone home. She never recovered from the mental shock she then sustained.

The principal native officer of my brother's squadron was a most distinguished man, an old friend of Sir Henry Lawrence's in the Punjab, who brought him to me just before my brother started and introduced him as a man on whom the greatest reliance could be placed. I believe, but am not sure, that this was the man who tried to save Hayes, but however that may be, he went off with the rest and was never heard of again. Sher Sing was liberally rewarded by Government: he was promoted, and had a large grant of land conferred upon him.

I felt very sad about my poor brother. He was a fine lad, and had already done well as a cadet in the Australian Mounted Police. His commission, had he lived, would probably have been confirmed, but it was otherwise ordered. I had to lament the loss of a second brother, both having died in their country's service.

It is needless to say that the anxiety of this time was intense: the responsibility of wives and children, and the dread of what they might be exposed to, was enhanced by the accounts coming in from so many sides, of ladies and children having been exposed to the greatest suffering or put to death. I continued performing my routine professional work, which became more onerous, as so many civilians, staff-officers, and others were added to our numbers, whilst

fatigue, heat, and anxiety were telling on them. There were frequent threatenings of epidemic disease, such as smallpox and cholera; but on the whole we had a remarkable exemption from any epidemic diffusion. In addition to my professional work I had also the household to look after. It was no light charge to provide for and take care of so many. My wife was not strong. She had the child to look after and a large party of visitors to care for, and this, with the many causes of anxiety and the sad reports that were coming in in evidence of the perils that were closing in upon us, made it very trying to a young girl never very robust. Day after day passed in this state, the dangers ever increasing. We were now uncertain of all natives, even those of our own household. The city was unsafe, and the murder of some Christians here and there was proof of the animus that existed against us. The population of Lucknow had certainly no reason to love us, and the reports from day to day showed that they were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves; and yet during this time we were constantly receiving proofs of native devotion and loyalty: men risked all, even their lives, to serve us, but fell at last into the whirlpool of mutiny and sedition, moved by some influence they could not resist to cast in their lot with the rebels. The reports from cantonments were also disquieting.

On May 23 a message arrived from General Wheeler stating that it was almost certain the troops would rise that night. This was about the time of the *Eed*, yet no disturbance occurred at Lucknow. There was ample evidence, however, of ill-feeling; incendiarism was frequent, and in the cantonments several attempts had been made to burn the officers' bungalows. Incendiary placards calling upon all true Hindus and Mohammedans to rise and destroy the Feringhees had been posted in various places. Reports were circulated that the 71st Native Infantry were only waiting for the troops at Cawnpore to set the example of rising. It was about this time that the ladies, women, and

children left cantonments and isolated places and were taken into shelter in the Residency, so that my house and other houses were filled with visitors.

The question was considered of increasing the pay of the sepoys; but the fact was, that the time for conciliation had passed, and nothing that could have been done would have averted what was coming. Even still many could not believe that our old soldiers would rise against us generally; the mutineers were supposed to be confined to a particular class of bad characters.

Up to May 25 no further active mutiny had occurred at Lucknow, but the feeling prevailed that it might come at any moment. On May 26 a force of artillery, cavalry, and infantry was despatched up the Grand Trunk Road to assist in restoring order. On reaching Cawnpore a company of the 1st Oudh Native Infantry refused to proceed farther. This resulted in the infantry being sent back across the Ganges to Oonao; the cavalry and artillery under Ashe went on up the Trunk Road, but after one march, hearing of the murder of Hayes and his officers at Mynpoorie, they returned. Wheeler, being short of artillery, kept Ashe and his guns at Cawnpore; Major Gall and the others returned to Lucknow. Certain of the talukdars began to manifest disaffection, and Captain Weston was sent out to confer with them, and apparently for the moment was successful.

Sir H. Lawrence now despatched a force to move along the banks of the Ganges under Major Marriot. For the first few days all went well: the men then became insubordinate, and mutinied. Some of the staff-officers withdrew under the protection of their Sikh escort; the regimental officers would not leave their men and were all murdered, including Burmester, Farquharson, Norman Martin, and Staples. Boulton escaped to Cawnpore, and was killed a few days later.

The lieutenant-governor at Agra issued a proclamation promising amnesty to all who would submit, provided they had not taken part in the murder of Europeans. This was

repeated in Oudh by Sir Henry Lawrence, but did no good. It was only too evident that we were in the presence of general mutiny and sedition—the disaffection being shared by great part of the civil population. Telegrams informed us that European troops were being sent up country from Calcutta as quickly as possible by dâk carriages and river steamers, but the process was a slow and tedious one. Wheeler telegraphed that all was still well, with thanks for aid and hopes expressed that the crisis was passing. Before the month closed we heard that the natives at Lahore and Agra had been successfully disarmed. The expediency of doing this at Lucknow was discussed, but it was deemed better not to attempt it lest it should precipitate the mischief.

The hard work and responsibility were telling upon Sir Henry Lawrence, who was not strong when he came here, and this added to my anxieties, for it was not possible to get him to take the necessary rest, or to relieve him of responsibility. The heat, too, was intense, and the exposure to it very trying.

Meanwhile the routine went on as nearly as possible in the usual fashion. We went out, drove, and rode, but always armed and with loaded pistols in the holsters. We lived in constant expectation of an outbreak, and, surrounded as we were, we hardly knew from what direction it might come. On May 30 it came. Whilst at dinner—a large party of more than twenty persons in my house, we heard the sound of artillery in the direction of cantonments, and on ascending the roof, saw the glare of fires, showing that the mischief had begun. Great consternation prevailed, but all behaved well. Sir H. Lawrence was at this time living in the cantonment Residency. On the evening of the 30th a sepoy of the 13th Native Infantry, who had been rewarded for loyal conduct in seizing a spy, came to the assistant adjutant-general and reported that the sepoys would rise that evening, and that the 71st Native Infantry would take the initiative. At 9 P.M. shots were heard in the lines of the 71st, and Sir H. Lawrence and staff rode there. There were

at this time in the cantonment 300 men of the 32nd Foot, four guns of Kaye's battery, and two guns of the Oudh Infantry force. Sir Henry took two guns and a company of the 32nd on the road to Lucknow, and so blocked it. He then sent for reinforcements of Europeans and two more guns. The insurgents rushed through the cantonment, firing indiscriminately and setting fire to the houses, and it was the glare of these fires that we saw from the roof of my house. They went to the messhouse, looking for their officers to kill them, and fired on the 32nd Foot and the guns, which in return opened on them with grape. A picket of the 71st, under Lieutenant Grant, at first remained loyal, but at length broke and followed the rest. Some of the native officers tried to save Grant by hiding him, but he was discovered and murdered. Lieutenant Hardinge of the Irregular Cavalry did his best, but was unable to prevent the plunder and firing of the officers' bungalows and bazaars. Some men of the revolted regiments separated from the mutineers and ranged themselves with the 32nd. Brigadier Hanscombe, coming on the ground, was struck by a bullet and fell dead from his horse. The Residency and some of the cantonment bungalows which had not been already set fire to were made as secure as possible. The mutineers meanwhile were dispersing, and nothing further happened that night. Lieutenant Chambers of the 13th Native Infantry had received a severe wound in the leg, and many officers had wonderful escapes. Mrs Bruère, wife of Major Bruère of the 13th Native Infantry, had a very narrow escape. She had returned against orders from the Residency to the cantonment, and was in her house when the men rose. Aided by a sepoy, she and her two children escaped, spent a wretched night in the open, and got safely back to the Residency the next day. Whilst the mutineers were firing, the men of the 32nd were made to lie down, and thus escaped: they remained on the spot all night. Early the next morning a force of cavalry and infantry with four guns was sent towards Moodkipore, where there were some

officers' houses and troopers' lines (leaving part of the 32nd under Colonel Case in cantonments). These buildings, too, had been seized and burned by the mutineers, who then went off to join the rebels who appeared there in force. The body of Cornet Raleigh, a young officer who had been murdered, was found here. The guns opened on the rebels, who were quickly dispersed and pursued: some were killed, and about sixty taken prisoners. By 10 A.M. the force returned. The heat was intense, and had caused much suffering.

The question was now again raised of disarming the native troops still left in cantonments, but it was decided not to do so. A fresh disposal of them was made; the cantonment Residency was placed in charge of Hardinge and his Irregular Cavalry; the 32nd with the guns remained where they were. On the same afternoon, the 31st of May, an insurrection took place in the city in the Hosseinabad quarter: 600 insurgents crossed the river to join the mutineers, but their design being discovered they returned to the city and caused the outbreak. They were defeated by the city police and the Oudh Irregular Infantry stationed at the Daulat Khana; about forty prisoners were taken and lodged in the Mutchi Bhowan. There had been other disturbances in the city, and the house of a Government clerk, Mr Mendes, had been broken into and he himself murdered.

Major Banks, the commissioner, thought it was unsafe for the ladies to remain in the scattered houses of the Residency, so all went to the Residency itself for a time, but soon returned, as fear of an immediate rising in the city quickly subsided. Somewhere about this time the company of the 32nd that had gone to Cawnpore returned.

As to the sepoys, after the outbreak of May 30, 437 remained; but many others crept quietly back and rejoined the colours. Others returned who had been away as city guards or on outpost duty, so altogether there were about 1200 men. Mr Gubbins and others, I believe, urged

Sir H. Lawrence to disarm these men, but he deemed it inexpedient, as many of them had evidenced such great loyalty. How loyal and faithful to their salt some were was amply shown by their conduct during the siege, when neither temptation nor threats from their comrades without, nor hardship nor privation within, could induce them to desert. There is nothing in the history of the sepoy army more creditable or honourable than their behaviour on this occasion. I wish I could think that they had received the reward that was their due: some did, no doubt, but many who gave up everything for us received little in return.

By June 1 civil government had wellnigh ceased, and martial law was replacing it. The night of the return of the ladies and children to my house, there was an alarm. A man in his sleep shouted out, "Murder!" All rushed to arms, thinking some of the rebels had got in unseen, but the mistake was soon discovered and all settled down again. The next day passed quietly, preparations for the defence going on. On 3d June news came that General Anson, Commander-in-Chief, had died of cholera at Umballa.

Court-martials were being held on the rebels taken in cantonments, and several of them were sentenced to death. On 4th June fifty men of the 84th, under Lieutenant O'Brien, arrived. Dr Partridge, who had gone on Gall's expedition, and Major Gall returned with them. On the same day parties of ladies and officers of the 41st Native Infantry, escorted by twenty-five men of the regiment, came in from Seetapore, bringing news of the murder of Mr Christian, the commissioner, and his family; of Colonel Birch, the commanding officer, and others. I sent out my carriage to meet them, and Partridge and I rode out. We heard that Miss Jackson and her sister were among the fugitives, but not with this party. News of the mutiny of the 37th at Benares also came. Communications were being interrupted now, and our information consequently was vague and uncertain. On June 5 the weather was intensely hot, rendering sleep impossible. Several men had been

hanged by sentence of court-martial at the Mutchi Bhowan, and I saw several of them hanged at once from a crossbeam. Many who richly deserved it were let off. The fugitives from the districts and from cantonments were bewailing the loss of all their property, left behind or destroyed.

On June 6 a great fire was reported from cantonments; the lines of the 71st had been burned down, otherwise all was quiet. June 7 was Sunday. The church in the Residency was well attended, and the sacrament was administered. An appropriate sermon was preached by Mr Polehampton on the text, "It is better to trust in the Lord, than to have any confidence in princes."

We had heard on May 31 that the 28th Native Infantry had broken out into open mutiny at Shahjehanpore and murdered several persons, among them Mr Ricketts, the collector, and Lieutenant Spens of the 28th Native Infantry, a cousin of my wife's, Major James and the medical officer, Bowling, my old colleague at Rangoon. Others made their escape only to be foully murdered near Aurungabad. From this massacre Captain P. Orr and one or two others escaped, but they were killed later on.

Mutiny was now raging everywhere, and Lucknow was the only place in Oudh still in our keeping, and it was in a most unsettled and dangerous condition. The officers and civilians and their families were scattered in all directions. Many had come to us, others had escaped elsewhere. For example, Mrs Boileau and her children were in my house, while her husband had gone to Bulrampore. The officers of the Baraitch district were all murdered. My old friend Fisher was killed by his own much-trusted sowars. In some instances the sepoys for a time at least protected their officers; but in many cases they either killed them themselves or allowed others to do so. It is to be noted that refugees who escaped from the mutineers were sometimes kindly treated by the country-people, but frequently all alike joined in the butchery.

So far we had two places of strength, the Residency and

the Mutchi Bhowan, an old native fortress on the banks of the Goomti. The question now arose whether we should retain both or concentrate in one, and if so, which one? On 8th June Sir Henry Lawrence proposed to remove the ladies and children to the Mutchi Bhowan, thinking they would be safer there in the case of an organised outbreak. This proposal was demurred to, and a council of war was called of the principal civil and military officers, and each was required to write his opinion. Anderson and Fulton of the Engineers strongly counselled the abandonment of the Mutchi Bhowan for many reasons. I supported them on sanitary grounds. To have concentrated a crowd of women and children into that place would rapidly have led to destruction by disease, if nothing else. I opposed it in the strongest terms, and was supported by others. It was decided that the Residency should be retained, and the project of packing the women and children into a close, crowded, and unhealthy building was abandoned. I never did better sanitary work than on this occasion, nor felt more convinced of the validity of the points I was arguing. It soon became known that though both were to be kept as long as possible, the last stand was to be made in the Residency.

I had now to decide an important question. Sir Henry's health and strength had been subjected to terrible strain, and the consequence was exhaustion. I saw that it was quite impossible for him to continue to bear it. Having explained this, I wrote an official letter to his private secretary on the 9th of June, placing Sir Henry on the sick-list for a few days, during which time he was to be kept quite at rest. This was not effected without some difficulty, but the necessity for it was so obvious that it was done. A provisional council of Gubbins, Inglis, Ommanney, Banks, and Anderson was appointed to carry on all the necessary work.

On June 9 the provisional council received a letter from Sir H. Wheeler at Cawnpore, sent by a sepoy, to the effect

that the native troops at Cawnpore, joined by the Nana, had attacked him in his intrenchments on the 6th with heavy guns, and asking us to send him aid. This was impossible, for we had not a man to spare, and we were sorrowfully obliged to say so. The man received Rs. 1000 promised by Sir H. Wheeler for bringing the message safely. At this time it was decided to disarm a company of the 9th Oudh Native Infantry on duty in the Mutchi Bhowan. Their comrades had murdered the Shahjehanpore fugitives, and they were showing signs of disaffection. This measure was strongly opposed by some of the council, but the majority being in favour of it, it was carried. The men were disarmed and sent to their homes on leave: no doubt they joined the other mutineers. Gubbins again urged the dismissal of all the native troops in cantonments which were suspect and needed watching, but the proposition was not agreed to. In this Captain Edgell (now military secretary) supported Gubbins, and doubtless there was much to be said in its favour. On the 10th an order was issued giving leave to all the sepoys to return to their homes till November, a measure not approved by some of the commanding officers who still retained confidence in their men. When the order agreed on after some discussion was issued, all the 7th Light Cavalry, except the native officers, went. Of the 13th Native Infantry 170 were allowed to remain, of the 48th and 71st 180; there were several Sikhs among them. The cavalry horses were picketed in the Residency, and the arms were brought in and stored.

About this time Major Gall, who had had command of the 2nd Oudh Cavalry and was made A.D.C. to Sir Henry Lawrence, obtained permission to carry a despatch to Allahabad. The service was one of great danger, and it proved fatal to him. He reached Roy Bareilly in disguise, but was betrayed by a native woman who kept the serai. One of his party that escaped told Gubbins that Gall fired two barrels of his revolver at his assailants, and then shot himself through the head. It was a sad end; he most probably

would have been killed, but he preferred to die by his own hand. He had been hurt at being removed from his regiment: being a Madras officer, he was considered not to have sufficient influence with the men, who were all Hindustanis. The fact was, no one had much influence, and probably Gall had as much as any one else, but it was done for the best. Poor Mrs Gall was in the Residency.

On June 12 I allowed Sir Henry to resume duty. Not that he was well, for his frame was worn and wasted, but he was sufficiently rested, under the circumstances, to return to work, and the authority of the provisional council ceased. Gubbins, however, continued to organise and control an intelligence department, and messengers of various kinds were employed. They were chiefly Paasees, a race of low-caste men—aborigines. They came from Ramnugger Dharampore, about thirty miles north-east of Lucknow. Thirty of these men were engaged and located in Gubbins's compound. Later others were added, as well as some pensioned sepoys. Some of the Paasees were sent out daily, and they managed to take our communications and bring replies from Wheeler. They also took and brought messages from Benares, Allahabad, and other stations. Some of the native gentry also assisted as far as the province of Oudh was concerned, and enabled us to keep up some communication with the outposts in the province generally. All sorts of rumours and reports reached us—many false, some true or founded on fact. All that we heard, however, showed that the province was in the hands of the insurgents, and that they were gradually closing in upon us.

On June 12 Captain A. Orr's regiment of military police mutinied and marched off in the direction of Sultanpore, plundering on the way. Gould Weston, who was superintendent of military police, rode after them alone and tried to bring them to reason, a daring thing to do. They were civil and did not attempt to injure him, but would not return. A force under Colonel Inglis, consisting of two companies of the 32nd, two guns from the European battery,

seventy Sikh cavalry under Captain Hamilton Forbes, forty or fifty clerks, civil, and others went after them. The heat was intense, and the foot-soldiers were unable to overtake them, as they had got well ahead. The cavalry and guns, however, got up to them and quickly did sharp execution, killing about fifty and taking as many prisoners. We lost two killed, and several were wounded, including Mr Thornhill, C.S. Two Europeans also died of sunstroke. The prisoners were all released—a mistake! Those that escaped went to join the Nana at Cawnpore.

Our preparations at the Residency were now being pushed on vigorously: earthworks were thrown up and batteries constructed. A strong one, called the Redan, was formed at the north corner of the Residency near the water-gate. On the south, another of three guns, dominating the Cawnpore road, was called the Cawnpore battery. In front of my house were two guns, an 18-pounder and a 9-pounder. There was a battery at the Financial garrison behind my house, another in Gubbins's compound. At the Bailey-guard gate an 18-pounder was placed, and on the road just outside my gate was a battery of three guns. Between the water-gate and the banqueting-hall were three guns, one 18-pounder and two 9-pounders, another battery at Innes's house, and a mortar battery between the Redan and the church. Mounds were thrown up in many places; sand-bags and earth were also used in the defences, and generally wherever a weak place indicated the need for more protection or shelter, the best arrangements possible were made. The houses were protected by banks of earth, the windows were blocked by boxes or bags of earth, but withal there were many places where there were no obstacles beyond a brick wall to prevent the enemy coming in. The engineers, Anderson, Fulton, Hutchinson, and Innes, with other officers and civilians, worked indefatigably. Numbers of men, coolies and others, were employed and highly paid as long as we could get them, and certainly did a great deal, but at the best it was but little. In my own compound the stable at

the bottom of the garden was the only barrier against the enemy. On all sides we were commanded by native buildings, affording shelter for sharpshooters and sites for the enemy's guns. As I have before said, we had thrown down a good many buildings and cleared away many spaces, but still much cover was left behind which the enemy could conceal themselves. We had plenty of guns, mortars, 18-pounders, and light field-pieces, and a large supply of shot and shell had been brought in and stored, much of it underground. The church was ultimately used as a storehouse for provisions and grain; the banqueting-hall was turned into a hospital; the King's Hospital became a garrison known as the Brigade Mess. Anderson's house and Innes's house were fortified and known as their garrisons, and a building near the Cawnpore battery occupied by the masters and boys of the Martinière was known as the Martinière Post. The Post Office, the Financial Office, the Judicial Office, the Goindah Khana, and the Begum Koti all became garrisons, and some open spaces on the west became known as the Sikh Squares; Gubbins's house, Ommanney's house, and my house became fortified posts and garrisons; the Residency itself was protected as much as possible, and all these were ultimately filled with officers, ladies, and children. For a time the women of the 32nd and their families were in the Residency *tyekhana*. In different buildings were located the headquarters of the commissariat, the Engineers and Artillery. There was some rearrangement of these as time went on. My garrison, of course, was under my own control to a great extent, but the detachment of soldiers, volunteers, and others was commanded by Captain Gould Weston.

A number of native police, upwards of 2000, were enlisted and stationed at different parts of the town—at the Mutchi Bhowan, the Kotwallie, and the great Imaum Bara, which was also fortified. After the siege began these men all joined the mutineers. Mr Gubbins about this time proceeded to raise native levies; a few of these only remained

with us during the siege. They were useful in the last part of June in piling shot and shell in the Residency and helping with the fortifications. Mr Gubbins spoke highly of a native architect named Parana, from Agra, who did excellent service in completing the defensive works; also of a man named Ramadeen, who was most faithful until he was killed during the siege. A native smith named Golâb was most useful to Captain Fulton: he remained faithful throughout the siege, though he had the opportunity of leaving, and was killed by a round-shot the day the relieving force entered.

Strenuous efforts were made by Sir H. Lawrence, Mr Simon Martin, and Lieutenant James of the commissariat to lay in provisions, fuel, and fodder, and, as I have before said, we all made like provision to the best of our ability for our own houses. A number of old pensioners were organised into a corps under Major Apthorpe. These old men were most useful, and faithful to the last, and never gave a moment's anxiety or trouble. I had several of them in my garrison, and can truly say that nothing could have exceeded their bravery, constancy, and devotion. The hardships they underwent were great, the danger greater; opportunities of deserting were constant, but they remained true as steel and deserve eternal credit. I can say the same of the native artillerymen in my garrison.

The Residency soon became quite transfigured—all its beauty gone, trees, shrubs, and flowers cut or trodden down, piles of shot, shell, and guns replacing them. A quantity of powder brought in from the Mutchi Bhowan was buried, and a magazine was constructed in the Begum Koti. Twenty-three lacs of rupees were buried in front of the Residency. A body of volunteer cavalry, composed of officers and clerks, was raised and drilled by Captain Radcliffe, and afterwards did excellent service. Instruction in gun-drill was given to all who needed it. Sergeant Clark of the artillery drilled those men and others close to my garrison, and I went through the drill myself. Fifty men

of the 32nd were also instructed in gun-drill. In the old palace of the Sheesh Mahal Captain Fulton had discovered a number of guns lying dismounted, and had them moved into the Residency. Many of them had been made for the Oudh Government and bore the name of Claude Martin. He also discovered an 8-inch howitzer. This was a most valuable addition to our armament. A carriage was constructed for it, elephant gear prepared, and we set to work to train an elephant to drag it. In this I was personally much concerned and interested. My dear old elephant Luchmi was still brought to see me every evening and to eat her chupattees at the door. She was made useful in throwing down some clay walls which had to be removed in the course of our defensive operations.

On June 13 a quantity of shot and shell was brought in from the Mutchi Bhowan. At this time 170 men, rank and file, of the 13th Native Infantry were encamped in the Residency compound, and we also had artillerymen there and in the Mutchi Bhowan, but all posted so as to be under fire of the Europeans: we trusted no natives now. All persons entering the Residency were closely inspected. The heat of the weather was intense and cholera was threatening. There had been four cases at the Mutchi Bhowan. At this time we received news of the mutiny at Fyzabad, and the natives were beginning to desert us. Reports came of the murder of the English at Shahjehanpore. The ladies and children in my garrison were pretty well, notwithstanding that the thermometer stood at 97°. Harris had five funerals this morning. We heard a report that one of the Miss Jacksons at Seetapore had been carried off by the mutineers. Prayers are said morning and evening in my garrison by Mr Harris.

The 14th of June was Sunday. It is reported, but no report can now be depended on, that 500 Europeans have arrived at Cawnpore. Smallpox as well as cholera has now appeared at the Mutchi Bhowan. Some of the Irregular Cavalry disappeared last evening. The sergeant-major of the 7th Light Cavalry, when excited in a dispute with the

riding-master of the same regiment, shot him with a pistol, with fatal results. The sergeant-major was placed under arrest. We are getting over not only ammunition, but rum and porter, from the Mutchi Bhowan, and efforts are being made to blow up the Fureed Buksh gate, and a portion of it was brought down on the 16th. Poor Mrs Germon had to have her dogs poisoned, as there was no means of keeping them.

On June 16 an 18-lb. gun with shot and shell was brought over from the Mutchi Bhowan. There are now seven 18-lb. guns in position, and the Cawnpore battery is being completed as quickly as possible. Twenty-two conspirators were taken to-day by Captain Hughes in a house in the city. They were betrayed by natives, were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death: four were executed, the rest liberated.

Vague reports came in on the 17th June about Cawnpore, though nothing authentic. There is some difficulty now in getting news. On the 18th Sir Henry Lawrence had a parade of all capable of bearing arms, and a post was assigned to each.

On June 19 Sir Henry inspected the Mutchi Bhowan, and some small arm ammunition was brought to the Residency, where it was stored in a tent. The volunteers were also inspected. A number of coolies are at work unroofing houses near the defences. The city still remains quiet. At this time I prohibited the ladies of my garrison from going to the Residency house or compound, as there is smallpox there. There is a good deal of cholera also about in the city, and some of the 32nd have died of it. Two children and a lady died of cholera in the Residency to-day. The European troops in cantonments are all to come into the Residency. Reconnoitring parties tell us there is as yet no enemy in the city.

On June 20 a letter arrived from Captain Moore of the 32nd from Cawnpore, informing us that no reinforcements had been received, as reported. The letter was written in the most touching and heroic terms, in reply to Sir Henry

Lawrence's statement of inability to send reinforcements, and expressing the devotion and undaunted resolution with which the beleaguered garrison of Cawnpore contemplated their position. We also received news that a boat-load of officers, men, and ladies, women and children, from Futteghur had been intercepted and murdered by the Nana's people at Cawnpore. My old Rangoon friend, Robertson, of the Artillery, and his wife, Dr Montgomerie's daughter, were among them. Our own prospects looked gloomy enough. The heat of the weather is intense, and there is a good deal of sickness.

On Sunday, June 21, the church now being filled with grain, service was read in Gubbins's, and also in my house, by Mr Harris. Rumours of the enemy approaching us are rife. In the night the first rain fell, and was most welcome.

On June 22 guns were still being brought in, and demolition of the surrounding buildings was in progress. In my house the ladies were all occupied with work of various kinds, Dr Partridge reading to them occasionally. Sir H. Lawrence inspected the Hosseinabad Kotwallie and the Daulat Khana, where the recently enlisted police are stationed.

On June 23 a naik and sepoy of the 71st were hanged at the Mutchi Bhowan. The colonel of the 71st reported that twenty Sikhs who had behaved well on the night of the outbreak had become insubordinate. On being addressed by Sir Henry they expressed contrition and a desire to be allowed to return to duty: their arms were restored, and they were sent into the Residency. Captain Radcliffe's volunteer cavalry are being drilled and exercised daily, and a large battery looking west is being constructed. A letter was received to-day from Sir Hugh Wheeler, saying he has been shelled for eight days and has lost one-third of his numbers killed.

On June 24 we heard that the enemy is now nearer, and that a force is at Nawabgunge, twenty miles from the city. It is said that they have 15,000 troops in Oudh, and eighteen guns, independent of the Cawnpore force, which may

be 5000. Sir Henry Lawrence and his staff have been inspecting various posts, and in the evening rode five miles out on the Fyzabad road. People—the children especially—are suffering from the heat and confinement; simple fever and boils are very common. All the guns from the Sheesh Mahal, including two 32-pounders, have now been brought into the Residency.

On June 25 a letter was received from Major Neill from Allahabad saying that there had been much fighting and that the mutineers were dispersed, that cholera had attacked the Fusiliers and had killed forty men in two days. Poor little Bob is drooping from heat and want of proper food and fresh air. Innes of the Engineers is working vigorously at the Mutchi Bhowan, and Hutchinson is constructing a battery behind Ommanney's house. A few days ago we heard that Mr Cunliffe, C.S., had been killed in the district: he was engaged to Miss Ommanney.

On June 26 a letter was received from Major Raikes at Mynpoorie telling us of the recapture of Delhi from the rebels. This caused much excitement, and a royal salute and *feu-de-joie* were fired; but the report, unhappily, turned out to be false. Another letter, dated the 23rd, was received from Major Neill, Allahabad, reporting all well there—790 Europeans had arrived, and 1000 more were expected soon. Endeavours are being made to send on some to Cawnpore, but the difficulty of procuring carriage was very great. The same evening, a letter dated June 24 was brought by a *cossid* (messenger) from Sir H. Wheeler, giving an account of his losses, saying that he was as closely besieged as ever, and that his provisions could only hold out eight or ten days longer at most. Sir Henry Lawrence at once sent him the Allahabad news giving him hope that he might receive aid in about that time, telling him that we ourselves were threatened by a force of eight or ten regiments, three or four of which were within twenty miles of us. Mrs Boileau heard of the safe arrival of her husband at Bulrampore with the Maharajah. We

heard also that a reward of one lac of rupees has been proclaimed for the capture of the Nana, dead or alive.

On June 27 we received a letter from Lieutenant Burnes, Adjutant of the 10th Oudh Native Infantry, describing the mutiny at Seetapore and his escape with Sir Mountstuart Jackson and sisters to Mithowlie; also of the escape, after most wonderful adventures, of another party with Captain Hearsey, who were hidden in the jungle. Cholera has been less for the last few days, but there have been several cases of smallpox. The ladies heard to-day that their small notes despatched on the 12th and 13th have been lost: those for up-country were destroyed, those going down-country were buried, and the *cossid* cannot remember where. Our servants are now decamping, and sometimes taking property with them. We have some few cases of illness, nothing serious, in my garrison. Bob is one year old to-day: he has begun his troubles and war services early! Another letter from General Wheeler arrived. He says that their sufferings have been indescribable. Nearly all the children and many of the men and women have died from heat and exposure, in addition to those who have been killed. His son was killed by a round-shot by his side while writing the letter.

On June 28, Sunday, heavy rain fell in the early morning. Service was performed at the brigade mess. Jewels and other valuable property were brought into the Residency from the king's palace. Mrs Dorin, wife of Lieutenant Dorin, arrived to-day disguised as a native, accompanied by some clerks. She had been many days concealed in a native hut. The wife of the sergeant-major of the 9th Oudh Native Infantry, who had been severely wounded, also arrived: a report came from Mr F. Gubbins of Benares of the state of Benares and Allahabad, and informing us that there was an action at Delhi on the 8th instant, and that the British had captured twenty-six guns. Late in the evening three different *cossids* brought the sad news of the fall of Cawnpore—ammunition exhausted, great part

of the garrison killed or dead from disease, no means of further defence left! In this extremity Wheeler had entered into a treaty with the Nana, and after embarking in boats many had been treacherously shot down from the ghât. Those who were not killed were taken prisoners. This was most sad and depressing news, but it only confirmed our determination to fight to the last and to refuse to enter into any treaty with the enemy, or to attempt to send the ladies and children away. This had been more than once discussed, but was rightly rejected as impracticable and fraught with extreme danger.

On June 29 a large brass gun and a quantity of arms were brought into the Residency from the king's palace. Patrols of our Volunteer Cavalry have brought information that three regiments of mutineers have gone along the Cawnpore road, and Captain Forbes and his patrols have brought in news that the enemy are within nine miles, at a place called Chinhut. It was deemed expedient to withdraw the troops from cantonments, and this was accordingly done at sunset. Sir Henry Lawrence and his staff came to-day and looked at my defences. I went over the house and ground with him: all had been done that was possible under the circumstances, and we were as well prepared as most of our neighbours.

It was now that the expedition to Chinhut, which ended so disastrously for us, was determined on. How it came about that this expedition was sent out I don't know. It was certainly not the result of any general deliberation, nor do I know who persuaded Sir Henry Lawrence to undertake it. It was apparently intended to oppose and disperse an advance-force, I fear with very imperfect information as to its strength.

Early on the morning of the 30th of June, then, a force was sent out to intercept the enemy near Chinhut, with the idea that by striking a decisive blow, not only would they be dispersed, but that the progress of the main body of the mutineers would be arrested. In order that secrecy might

be preserved and no information conveyed to the enemy, no orders were given until 3 A.M. of the 30th. At this hour Lieutenant Birch with twenty Sikhs was sent to the iron bridge to prevent any one crossing to convey information to the enemy approaching from the other side. I confess I don't see what good this particular step could have done, as any number of messengers could have forded or swum the river, and probably did so. There can be little doubt that some of our messengers acted as go-betweens, conveying information to the enemy of what we were doing, bringing us also information of their movements. That some were loyal to us there can be no doubt, and Ungud, of memorable renown, is one striking instance of it. Of him more later.

In the early morning, the following force, pursuant to orders, assembled and marched across the iron bridge and took the Fyzabad road in the direction of Chinhut. The force was under the personal command of Brigadier-General Sir Henry Lawrence, with Colonel Inglis as second in command. The accounts of the composition of the force differ, but the following is probably fairly correct:—

	Men.
Of the 32nd Foot (Colonel Case)	300
„ 13th Native Infantry (Major Bruère)	150
„ 48th Native Infantry (Colonel Palmer)	50
„ 71st Sikhs (Lieutenant Birch)	20
Infantry	520
Radcliffe's European Volunteers	36
Sikh Cavalry (Captains Forbes and Hardinge)	80
Cavalry	116

4 guns of European (Kaye's) artillery under Lieutenant Cunliffe.
4 „ native artillery, Oudh battery, under Lieutenant Alexander.
2 „ Lieutenant Ashe's battery under Lieutenant Bryce.
1 8-inch howitzer under Lieutenant Bonham.

11 guns.

The whole artillery under Captain Simons, R.A. The grand total was 636 men besides artillerymen.

The advance-guard consisted of 25 Sikh cavalry, 15 European volunteer cavalry, 20 Sikh infantry, and 20 of the 32nd Foot—80 altogether, under the command of Captain Stevens of the 32nd Foot.

The 8-inch howitzer, Alexander's guns, Kaye's battery, the 13th Native Infantry, Bryce's guns, and the 32nd Foot formed the main body, and marched in the above order. The rear-guard was composed of the 48th Native Infantry, under Colonel Palmer.

This brings me to the conclusion of the first period into which I have divided the history of these events, when the disastrous expedition against Chinhut was made. It was an error, and we paid dearly for it. Everything was against us: the force started too late, and marched under the fierce rays of the Indian midsummer sun. They advanced along the Fyzabad road, which was a made road as far as the Kokrail bridge, about half-way to Chinhut; beyond this it was an ordinary raised embankment. After passing the Kokrail bridge a reconnaissance was made, and the enemy was discovered in overwhelming numbers. An action ensued, in which we were repulsed with the loss of many officers and men, the 8-inch howitzer and three 9-pounders. Masses of the enemy's infantry, cavalry, and heavy artillery were placed in and about Chinhut and the village and trees of Ishmailgunge, and our men were crushed by the overwhelming fire of this force. The Volunteer Cavalry behaved admirably, the Sikhs infamously,—they turned and fled. The native artillerymen also deserted, the elephant with the howitzer became unmanageable, and, despite the efforts of Lieutenant Bonham and others, the gun was lost. The 32nd had tried to take the village of Ishmailgunge, but they were met by a withering fire, by which Colonel Case and Lieutenants Brackenbury and Thomson were killed; the men fell back in disorder; Lieutenant Bonham was wounded. Captain Hardinge brought up the elephant to

the howitzer, but it was unmanageable and they could not attach it to the limber of the gun, which had to be left. A general retreat was now commenced. Sir H. Lawrence, who was much distressed by this disaster, and the other officers did their best to rally the men and to repulse the rapidly advancing enemy, who pursued them right up to the iron bridge. Many were left dead or wounded—including Captains Stevens and Maclean—or dying of heat or exhaustion. Numbers of wounded were brought in on limbers or on officers' horses. For some signal service on this occasion Lieutenant Cubitt got the V.C. Early in the action the water-carriers had deserted, the intended provision of food and water on the march out had miscarried, and the men were exhausted by heat, fatigue, and thirst. All stragglers were immediately cut off by the enemy, and the remnants of the force arrived in a state of great exhaustion and misery. Gubbins had sent out elephants to meet them, and they got back by noon. A party of the 32nd under Lieutenant John Edmonstoune, my wife's cousin, occupied the houses near the iron bridge and kept the mutineers in check as our troops crossed it to come in. Our guns in the Redan battery, which commanded the iron bridge and the river-bank, were also brought to bear on the enemy, who could be seen swarming near and getting guns into position on the opposite side of the river. Our loss was very severe. Colonel Case, Captain Stevens, Lieutenants Thomson and Brackenbury of the 32nd, and Captain Maclean of the 71st, were killed. Lieutenant James of the commissariat, Captain Simons, R.A., Lieutenant Barlow, and others were wounded. The loss in European soldiers was 112 killed and 44 wounded. Several natives were killed and many deserted. Over one-fourth part of the whole force was killed or died, besides many wounded. The force to which we were opposed consisted of about 5550 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 160 artillery, making a total of about 6500 men.

At this juncture, in addition to the troops in the Resi-

dency and the Mutchi Bhowan, we had two and a half regiments of Native Infantry under Brigadier Grey, stationed at the Daulat Khana, which had not taken part in the Chinhut expedition. They belonged to the 7th, 4th, and 1st Oudh Native Infantry. As soon as the Chinhut disaster was known all these mutinied. They broke out with horrid shouts and began to plunder the property of the officers, though they allowed them to leave without molestation. The police in the Imaum Bara joined, and turned their guns upon the Mutchi Bhowan. Their cotwal fled, but they caught him and put him to death.

The enemy now began to place guns in position against the Residency, among them the 8-inch howitzer we had lost, and before evening were throwing shell into our defences. "The defeat, pursuit, and investment," says Gubbins,[1] "was so rapid that for some time all was confusion in the Residency." Our defences were imperfect and incomplete, especially the battery in Gubbins's enclosure. Native men, women, and children who had been working all took flight, and most of our servants disappeared. Many went to look after their families, and who can blame them? Many bolted from fear. In fact, there was a general exodus of natives, and we were left to do for ourselves to a great extent. A few servants remained, and one *bhistie* in my house, one punkah coolie, and, I think, a sweeper, served us faithfully throughout the siege. Mine was a much-exposed post. The enemy swarmed in all round us; for, having constructed a bridge of boats across the river, they came in and occupied the buildings near to and overlooking us, some of them only a few yards distant. They loopholed walls and commenced a heavy fire upon us. The siege had now begun, and from this day we were completely invested.

[1] The Mutinies in Oudh. By M. R. Gubbins.

CHAPTER VII.

SIEGE OF THE RESIDENCY.

Confusion in Residency on return of Chinhut expedition — Desertion of natives working on defences—Heavy fire of rebels upon Residency commences—Hurried preparations for defence—Miss Palmer killed by round-shot — Garrison withdrawn from Mutchi Bhowan — Mutchi Bhowan blown up—Sir Henry Lawrence mortally wounded—Removed to my house — Last instructions to garrison — Appoints successor — Death of Sir H. Lawrence—Ladies of my house placed in the tyekhana *—House under heavy fire—Desertion of servants—Ommanney killed—Many killed and wounded—Arrangements in my house—Endeavours to take the Residency by assault—Letters sent out but no replies received—Daily funerals — Sharpshooting from enemy's posts — Hardships and incessant labours of garrison—Houses crumbling and falling—Intense heat—Cholera—Inconvenience from putrid animals killed by enemy's shot—Flies an intolerable nuisance—Explosion of mine and first general assault—Repulsed after hard fighting—Resulting feeling of confidence in garrison—Brave conduct of loyal sepoys—Death of Major Banks—Sufferings of women and children—First communication from without —News of relieving force—Insanitary conditions telling severely—Letter from Quartermaster-General of Havelock's force—Enemy mining, we countermining—Heavy shell-fire of enemy continues—Supplies running low—Children and invalids suffering severely from privation—Relief anxiously looked for.*

I SHALL never forget the consternation and confusion in the Residency on the receipt of the news of Chinhut: Partridge and others who had been out gave us some details. We were utterly unprepared, and it seemed as if the enemy must rush in any moment and overwhelm us. The wounded and

exhausted were being brought in in indescribable confusion. One of the first who came under my observation was James, who had received a bullet near the knee-joint. I happened to be wearing the sword that the king had given me, and took it off, belt and all, to enable me better to attend to his wound, handing it to a soldier standing near at the moment. When I had finished the dressing and looked for the man, he had gone, and I never saw him or the sword again. There was much work to do, and my garrison to look after. The poor ladies, like others, were anticipating immediate death, but they were perfectly calm and showed great fortitude. We did all we could to made arrangements to fight it out to the last if there was a rush in upon us.

Meanwhile Sir H. Lawrence and his staff were doing all possible to meet the emergency. The Bailey-guard gate was fastened, and men were sent to the different posts of defence. The fire upon us was heavy and rapidly increased in force and frequency, coming from all directions, though chiefly from the river and palace side of the city. Shot and shell came tearing and hurtling in, with a perfect hail of musketry. The ladies and children were sent into the *tyekhana*, and so far none in my house were badly injured, though some of the men were wounded. Towards evening the enemy made a fierce attack on the Bailey-guard gate, but were repulsed. The ladies and children were then in the *tyekhana*, but later, when the fire ceased, were brought out to get a little air.

It was now obvious that it would be impossible to hold the Mutchi Bhowan as well as the Residency, and it was decided to abandon it. The hospital was full of sick, wounded, and dying, and Mr and Mrs Polehampton, the clergyman and his wife, had got a room there. Besides my ladies and gentlemen visitors, there were in my garrison an officer and about twenty men of the 32nd Foot, some native artillery, pensioners and other natives, and in the other houses a similar distribution of the members of the garrison was made. The ladies and children slept in the *tyekhana*, as the rooms upstairs were not safe against shot and shell.

On the 1st of July the enemy kept up a heavy musketry fire all day and night; round-shot and shell were numerous. Early in the morning they attacked, but were repulsed on all sides. Mr Macrae, a civil engineer, and Lieutenant Dashwood of the 48th, were both wounded. Miss Palmer, who was in the room of the Residency above the *tyekhana*, had her leg carried off by a 9-lb. shot which passed through the wall. Mrs Aitken, Mrs Calvert Stanley Clarke, and other ladies were with her at the time. I went immediately, under a shower of bullets which were cutting up the ground all about me, and amputated the poor girl's thigh above the knee, being assisted with great fortitude by Mrs Aitken, Mrs Clarke, and others: she did not survive very long, as the shock was too great. Her father was at the Mutchi Bhowan. Many others were hit; some were killed, but I don't remember how many. Native messengers were sent out to convey a message to the Mutchi Bhowan, but as their arrival was doubtful, a semaphore on the top of the Residency was put into action and the following message telegraphed to Colonel Palmer: "Spike the guns well, blow up the fortress, and retire at midnight." The result was waited for anxiously. To assist this movement, our batteries a little before midnight opened a heavy fire on the iron bridge to divert the enemy's attention from the Mutchi Bhowan. The message was received, understood, and thoroughly well carried out. At midnight the force moved out quietly, bringing with them the treasure and two 9-lb. guns. They were unmolested, and reached our water-gate without a shot being fired at them. Lieutenant Thomas of the Artillery had made arrangements for blowing up the place, and had laid a train with a twenty-minutes' fuse. In due time a terrific explosion took place, a blaze of light, smoke, and *débris* shooting up into the air. The houses in the Residency were shaken, doors rattled and windows were shattered, whilst the earth shook as in an earthquake. The Mutchi Bhowan had been blown up. By this we sacrificed four mortars, three 18-lb. guns, four 9-lb. guns,

250 barrels of powder, and 594,000 rounds of ammunition; but it was necessary, for we could not hold both places. We could not have brought out the guns and ammunition, and it would not have done to leave all this at the disposal of the enemy. The whole party got in safely, and one man who had accidentally been left behind came in later without molestation. It was a sad moment for Colonel Palmer to find his daughter dying from her wound.

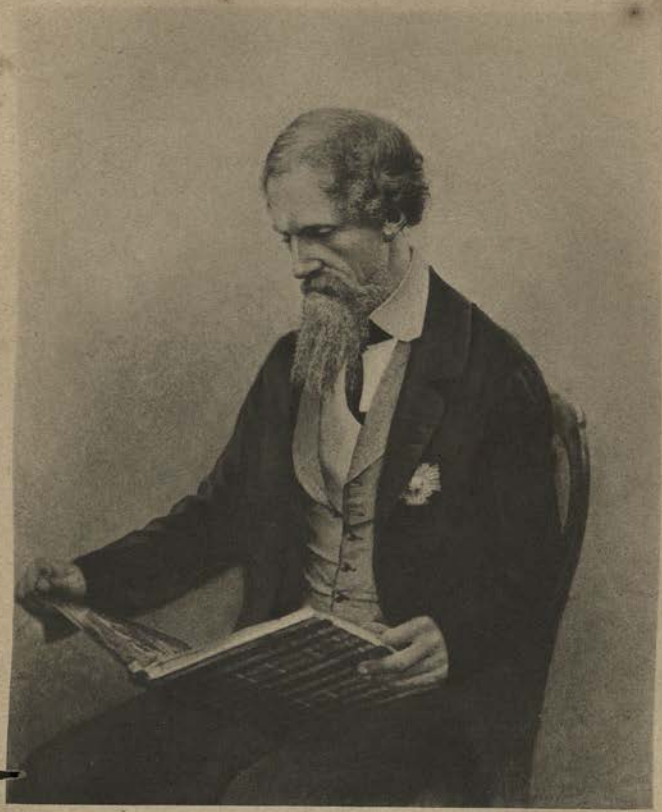
Throughout the night the enemy kept up a steady fire upon our garrison. A round-shot had passed through the wall of Sir Henry Lawrence's room in the Residency where he was sitting, but he was not hurt, though covered with plaster.

The 2nd of July was the most eventful day during the siege, for a sad calamity overtook us. After arranging for the posting of the Mutchi Bhowan force, and placing some field-pieces in position, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was exhausted with work and heat, lay down on a couch in the room through which the round-shot had passed the day before. An 8-inch shell from the ill-starred howitzer lost at Chinhut came in through the window and exploded, filling the room with smoke, flame, and *débris*. Captain Wilson, D.A.G., and Mr George Lawrence were with him; Wilson, with one knee on the couch, was reading a memo to Sir Henry. He was knocked down, and then Sir Henry's voice was heard saying he had been wounded. A native servant who was in the room had his foot carried off by a fragment of the shell, Wilson was bruised, but George Lawrence was unhurt. They summoned assistance, carried Sir Henry into the drawing-room, and laid him on a table, supporting him with pillows. Meanwhile George Lawrence had run over to my house, not more than 150 yards away. I went and found Sir Henry Lawrence lying as above described, with several officers about him. I saw he was seriously injured, for he was pale, his voice was low, he was semi-collapsed, and was talking in a hurried and excited manner. He begged me to tell him how

long he had to live. On examining the wound I found that the muscles and integuments of the hip were lacerated, the upper part of the thigh-bone being comminuted. In his enfeebled and exhausted condition I knew that so serious a wound must soon prove fatal, and said I thought he might live forty-eight hours. I did what was possible to arrest hæmorrhage,—there was not much,—to alleviate pain and relieve the condition of shock. It was a very trying time. The Residency was already much injured by heavy shot and shell, the room we were in was knocked almost to pieces, while round-shot were striking the house frequently: the whole force of the enemy's fire seemed to be concentrated on it. Fearing that more might be killed, we carried him as carefully and tenderly as we could to my house, and laid him on a bed in the deep front veranda. The fire was not so heavy on my house at that moment, and we placed him where there was shelter. His bed was soon surrounded by his sorrowing friends. The enemy must have found out what had happened, for he was scarcely there when a most fiendish fire was rained upon my house, and both round-shot and musketry came fast and furiously. The principal officers were soon about him, and knowing he was dying, he directed Colonel Inglis to assume command of the troops, and Major Banks, the commissioner of Lucknow, to succeed him in the duties of chief commissioner. He was perfectly clear and collected, though much exhausted, and gave full instructions as to what he wished to be done. He most earnestly adjured us never to surrender or treat with the enemy, and to do everything possible to protect the women and children, to economise provisions and defend the Residency to the last or until relief should arrive. He took leave of us all in the most affecting manner, spoke most humbly of himself and all that he had done, and expressed a desire that the only epitaph on his tomb should be, "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." He reproached himself for what he called his shortcomings, but said he had en-

deavoured to do his best. Partridge and I examined the wound thoroughly under chloroform, and found it so grave, extending into the pelvis, that nothing could be done but try to relieve pain and sustain the failing strength. He remained sensible for a long time, and was closely watched by his nephew, George Lawrence, with the chaplain (Mr Harris) and some of the ladies. We removed him to the inner room after a time, as the veranda became more and more exposed to fire. I was with him constantly and at the last, doing what I could with chloroform and otherwise to relieve him. He ultimately became unconscious from exhaustion and died on the morning of the 4th, and was buried the same evening in the Residency churchyard, in the grave with the other dead of that day. The death of our excellent chief threw a great gloom over all. A letter of mine to Colonel Wilson, published in Edwardes and Merivale's 'Life of Sir Henry Lawrence,' gives fuller details of all the circumstances attending his death. Mrs Harris, the wife of the chaplain, says in her diary: "About twelve I was obliged to ask J. to have the body carried outside, so he called some soldiers to help carry the bed into the veranda. When they came in, one of the men lifted the sheet off poor Sir Henry's face and kissed him." Major Banks says that Sir Henry's last communications delivered to him after his wound were chiefly these: "Reserve fire; check all wall-firing; carefully register ammunition for guns and small arms in store; carefully register daily expenditure as far as possible; spare the precious health of the Europeans in every way from shot and sun; organise working-parties for night labour; intrench, intrench, intrench; erect traverses, cut off the enemy's fire; turn every horse out of the garrison except enough for four guns, but keep Sir Henry Lawrence's horse, it is a gift to his nephew, George Lawrence; use the State prisoners[1] as a means for getting in supplies, by gentle means

[1] These were relatives of the royal family who had been placed in durance previous to the investment.



Henry Lawrence

From a photograph made in Lucknow in 1857.

Walker & Boutall phs.

if possible, or by threats; enrol every servant as a *bildar*, or carrier of earth; pay liberally—double, quadruple; turn out every native who won't work, save menials who have more than abundant labour; write daily to Allahabad or Agra. Sir Henry Lawrence's servants to receive one year's pay; they are to work for any other gentleman who wants them, or they may leave, if they prefer to do so."

"A hurricane of shot, gingal, and musketry all day and all night," says Wilson;[1] "probably not less than 10,000 men fired into our position. The balls fell in showers, and hardly any place was safe." My house got its full share. The bullets found their way everywhere, and people were hit in places that seemed safe. The ladies were giving out rags and old linen to make bandages. Mr Harris read prayers to the ladies and to all whose duties allowed them to attend. This night the ladies and children slept in the *tyekhana*.

On the 3rd Wilson says, and my observations confirm it, "It is difficult to chronicle the proceedings of these few days, for everywhere confusion reigned supreme." James, the commissariat officer, was badly wounded and could do little. His gomashta and baboos were not with us, and those appointed to assist him were new to the work. The stores were scattered, and both difficult and dangerous of access. Some of the garrison were without rations for two or three days. Many had made no provision, and were taken quite by surprise. The horses and bullocks got loose and were shot, and great difficulty was experienced in burying them, a necessary measure for sanitary reasons. Some men were wounded, some were killed in carrying out this indispensable work. All day long a tremendous fire was kept up on my house and the Bailey-guard, and no doubt elsewhere. To-day Mr Ommanney was mortally wounded by a round-shot when at the Redan battery: he was injured in the head, and never regained consciousness. Poor Miss Palmer died to-day. This morning it was ascertained that all my servants, with the exception of those I have men-

[1] The Defence of Lucknow. By a Staff Officer.

tioned, had deserted, but a khitmutghar of Mrs Germon's and two ayahs remained. We were obliged to provide for ourselves as best we could, all helping each other, but the confusion may be imagined, whilst the intense heat added to our sufferings. No arrangements were yet possible about messing. My stores have been severely indented upon, and cannot last long for such a large party. The ladies are doing all they can for the sick and wounded and the children. Mr Harris had been all day with poor Sir Henry, who was fast sinking. A perfect storm of fire upon the house; some were wounded, I forget how many. I am not sure that any were killed that day in my garrison. My 18- and 9-pounders were hard at work, Partridge and I helping, especially with the 9-lb. howitzer. We made some effective shots with it, and silenced one of their batteries more than once. There was a havildar and five or six golandazes to work these, who were lodged on the staircase, which had been boarded over, going to the lower garden. About this time I began to make a tally on the wall, behind one of the doors, of the killed and wounded in my garrison. I do not remember precisely how many of each there were, but I believe it was in the end fourteen killed and forty wounded. I looked for this tally when I visited the Residency in after years, but the plaster had peeled off and with it my marks. An important fact to note was that Barwell managed to get a jug of milk from somewhere for the children to-day.

On the 4th July Sir Henry Lawrence died at about a quarter past 8 A.M., quietly and without pain. Not long before his death, his nephew, George Lawrence, was shot in the shoulder when attending on him. I did not see Sir Henry buried, as I was engaged with some wounded at the time. There is a funeral service now every night — no coffins, the bodies just rolled in a sheet and put in a common grave for all. Some disturbance was going on in the city to-night, probably plundering, but the fire upon us never slackened. A private of the 32nd rushed out and

spiked a 9-lb. gun posted behind a mosque close to the water-gate. We are now realising the results of sparing any of their holy places. Every one of them is filled with sharpshooters or has a big gun under its shelter.

On Sunday the 5th we had Communion in the *tyekhana*. A share in the household work was assigned to each lady, Mrs Harris to be general superintendent, to do housemaid duty, and to help to nurse some of the sick and wounded. Mr Schilling of the Martinière, who has his boys in a neighbouring garrison, sent us two to help in the household work. The cooking is very simple—a mess of stew and chupattees, but no loaf-bread, butter, or milk. So far my own stores hold out, but we are to get rice and dâl from the commissariat as soon as they are exhausted. We have still a certain amount of tea, coffee, and sugar in the house. In the evening the ladies come up and sit in the farther portico, which is tolerably sheltered. Poor Ommanney died this evening. His wife and two daughters are in the garrison; both the daughters were engaged, both their intendeds died. The firing was especially heavy to-day, and several more were killed or wounded. Great trouble is experienced from the loose horses and cattle. Some horses have been turned out; several have been killed, and the difficulty is to dispose of their carcasses. The labour of burying them for overtired men as well as the danger, is great. The stench from some of the unburied animals is dreadful.

On 6th July the firing from Johannes' house, which is filled with the enemy, just outside the Cawnpore battery, was very heavy and raking my front compound. Nails, ramrods, as well as shot, are being fired at us. Another attack upon the Bailey-guard and my house repulsed to-day. Trenches for shelter are being dug in all directions, in the evening when it gets dark. A 9-lb. gun was disabled by a round-shot.

On July 7 the Rev. Mr Polehampton was shot through the body by a bullet which came in through the window, a very dangerous wound. Captain Francis at the brigade

mess had both his legs fractured by a round-shot; one was amputated. He never murmured, only expressed his anxiety that it should be known that he had done his duty. A sortie was made to-day of fifty of the 32nd and twenty Sikhs under Captains Lawrence and Mansfield and Ensigns Green and Studdy, the object being to examine Johannes' house, to discover if the enemy were mining and to dislodge them. Fifteen or twenty of the enemy were killed, whilst we had two Europeans and one Sikh wounded. There was heavy rain in the afternoon.

On July 8 Francis died, and a little girl was killed at the Begum Koti. All goes on as usual in our garrison, constant fire kept up on the enemy. The heavy rain seemed rather to have slackened their fire to-day. The work is very arduous everywhere; men are on duty for eighteen and twenty hours in the day. Constant alarms and threatenings of assault render it necessary for all to stand to arms. Last night twenty Sikhs of the 13th Native Infantry deserted. The Hindus of the 13th, 48th, and 71st were declared by Major Wilson to have behaved nobly. In my garrison we were constantly on the alert: men lie down on couches or on the floor of the long room, and are up at a moment's notice if any sudden alarm calls. Harris, the chaplain, has very hard work, and he does it nobly: he has five or six funerals every night in the Residency churchyard, and as these take place under fire it is a service of great danger.

On July 9, after a heavy rainfall, at 4 A.M. the enemy made a determined attack upon the Bailey-guard gate, which was splendidly defended, and the attack repulsed by Aitken of the 13th and his sepoys. At the Cawnpore battery 300 or 400 men made a rush as though they would take it by assault, but some rounds of grape and canister with rifle and musket fire repulsed them. I have constant opportunity of using my guns and rifle either from the platform in front of the house or from the roof. This is the tenth day of the siege, and, as Wilson said, the heavy

musketry-fire on every side never for a moment ceased day or night, and at times it was terrific. Several casualties occurred, for our men were very unprotected at the various crossings and open spaces, though as time went on we put up traverses at the most exposed places. The enemy have excellent marksmen, and at Johannes' house and the clock tower they are becoming notorious. Bryson, formerly sergeant-major of the 16th Lancers, was shot through the head. Dashwood of my garrison, who had been wounded, died of cholera after a few hours' illness. Poor Mrs Dashwood is left with two children. Last night great alarm was caused in the house after the enemy had made an attack. One of our garrison had fallen asleep and in his dreams shrieked out. It was thought that the enemy had found their way in, but the alarm was soon discovered to be a false one.

On the 10th July the enemy's fire went on as usual. A sepoy of the 13th Native Infantry was killed at the Bailey-guard gate, and some other men were wounded. Efforts are being made to grind as much wheat as possible by handmills, and Wilson says that to-day 13 maunds and 2 seers, about 1040 lb., were ground. In the afternoon, the firing slackening somewhat, great efforts were made to bury some putrid animals, to tie up some loose bullocks, to turn out some loose horses, and to get supplies placed in less exposed situations. This, in addition to nightly fatigue-parties for burying the dead, repairing intrenchments, altering the position of guns, and attending the wounded, was severe work, and, with the absence of all aid from servants and the consequent labour involved, left little time for rest. Officers and civilians share the labour with the men. Several letters have been sent out, but as yet none have been received: we have no communication with the outer world but such as comes from the enemy, who talk to us across the road, and shout to their old comrades who remain with us to come out or prepare to share the fate which is in store for us. I make the ladies

sit upstairs as much as possible out of the close air of the *tyekhana*, and they assemble in the portico at the side of the house. Young Dashwood, brother of the poor fellow who died, wounded himself when cleaning his pistol to-day.

On the 11th of July the firing was rather slacker at first: they must be getting short of ammunition, for they were firing logs of wood bound with iron at us out of the heavy guns. This had been preceded by a smart burst of firing of shot, shell, and musketry. There is a rumour about—we know not how it came—that the Nana is going to join the rebels now investing us, and that a fierce attack is about to be made. Two men of the 32nd Foot and an artillery-man were killed last night during the heavy fire, and several wounded. There were five funerals to-day. Poor Francis's property was sold by auction—a box of clothing went for 500 rupees. The officers of the brigade mess turned out to bury a horse outside their intrenchments: it had to be dragged some distance before they could do so.

On Sunday, July 12, the heat was intense and the fatigue of the garrison great. The enemy have loopholed every place within 50 or 60 yards of us, and are closing in on every side. The ladies slept in the dining-room last night, the *tyekhana* being so oppressive and the mosquitos so numerous, but they dined there, so that the food should not bring the flies upstairs. Attacks were made on my house, the Bailey-guard, and Gubbins's house, but they were repulsed. The enemy sound the advance and then abuse each other for not going on! Later they fired heavily on the Cawnpore battery. Prayers were read in my garrison by Mr Harris.

On the 13th July Ensign Charlton of the 32nd received a shot in the back of his head. The bullet penetrated his skull, but, strange to say, he ultimately recovered. The people in my garrison are suffering from boils, but there is no grave disease among them. Cases of cholera and small-pox occur from time to time in the garrison, and keep us on the *qui vive*. Mrs Thomas is very ill with smallpox in the

Begum Koti. The enemy's firing throughout the day was as active as ever. One English soldier was hit and a native killed coming into our kitchen. The enemy having re-occupied Johannes' house, kept up a sharp fire down our road, killed two sepoys, and wounded a conductor. The havildar-major of the 13th Native Infantry was also shot through the thigh to-day. They are not only throwing logs of wood but carcasses full of inflammable matter, one of which set fire to the Residency, but it was soon extinguished. We were labouring hard to get the supplies moved out of the church, as it might at any time be burned down. The routine in my garrison goes on as usual. There is very little food, very little rest, an occasional wash or bath or change of some article of clothing, lying down in one's clothes to snatch a little sleep, but constantly being called for something—some one wounded or ill, either in the house or elsewhere, something wanted in the garrison, some threat of an attack, or damage to the house to look to, or some weak place to be strengthened. The ladies all live harmoniously together, helping each other as much as they can. Weston looks after the military arrangements, the food, and the rations. Mr and Mrs Harris help in many ways in the domestic and other arrangements: they are indefatigable. Partridge and I look after the sick and wounded and the house arrangements, and also after the two guns on the front platform. The other officers keep guard, watch, fight, and do all that soldiers can do under such circumstances.

It rained, with thunder and lightning, on the night of the 13th, and was intensely dark, but cleared up in the morning of the 14th. The enemy were not so active last night; but in the morning they assembled in force, and we could see them moving about in different directions, apparently not having made up their minds which way to attack. We ascertained that they had made some new batteries, from which they threw, as from the others, carcasses, shot, and logs of wood. We threw up a traverse across the road

to protect our people from the rifles in Johannes' house. Some Sikhs of the 13th Native Infantry deserted last night, leaving their arms and accoutrements. No news has yet been received from without; none of our *cossids* have brought back any replies, and we know absolutely nothing of what is going on elsewhere. If we may believe our enemies, we are the last Englishmen in the country, and we are not to remain much longer! The enemy have erected a new battery bearing on the brigade mess, where there are a number of ladies and children: they opened fire from it, and the parapet of the building was much injured, one soldier being mortally wounded. Lieutenant Lester in Gubbins's garrison was shot through the neck, the spinal cord was injured high up, and the wound was fatal. There were some cases of cholera reported this day, and five Europeans were buried this evening. My poor house is getting frightfully dilapidated with shot and shell, and some parts of the walls are crumbling away under the increasing musketry-fire. It is in a most exposed position, just overlooking the Bailey-guard gate, which is a marked point of attack. The musketry and two guns in my house firing grape and round-shot are constantly at work. The countless number of the enemy's guns, and the boundless resources at their disposal, caused great anxiety; but we had all decided to fight it out to the last, never to surrender or attempt to treat or let ourselves be taken alive if we could avoid it, but rather blow the whole thing into the air than do so. I had a heavy cavalry sabre sharpened and pointed, with a leather thong to wind round my wrist, which hung up ready if the enemy got in. I was quite determined that they should not take me alive, and that I would kill as many of them as I could before they killed me; but we always hoped that relief would come, and that we should live through it. Some men asked me to give them poison for their wives, if the enemy should get in: this I absolutely refused to do.

On the 15th of July there was a very heavy fire from a battery fifty yards distant from the brigade mess, but the

garrison kept close in cover and no casualties occurred. Anderson's house, near the Cawnpore battery, has been almost entirely destroyed by round-shot, but is still maintained by the garrison there: on one occasion some of the inmates had to be dug out when part of it fell. A mortar has been placed near the Post Office, close to my house, which to-day threw shells into Johannes' house. The Redan battery received three rounds of grape from the enemy to-day, but no one was hit. We got the ladies up out of the *tyekhana*, and they amused themselves by trying to be cheerful and singing part songs in the portico to the rushing of shells and the whistling of musket-balls. The heat that night was intense. There was an alarm of an assault during the night, the enemy keeping up a heavy fire throughout. They were busy constructing new batteries opposite the Cawnpore battery and the Bailey-guard gate. We shelled them heavily to-day, and they made a feint of attacking the Cawnpore battery, but did not dare it at the last moment. Bryce of the Artillery was badly wounded in the thigh, and O'Brien of the 84th in the arm. Our *bhoosa* stack was nearly set on fire by a shell; one wall of the racket-court in which it is stored fell some days ago. Mrs Thomas and Lester both died to-day. A fresh case or two of cholera were reported. The heat and the flies are dreadful; the latter swarm everywhere, settling upon what we eat. There were five bodies buried to-day, and Mr Harris narrowly escaped being shot in going to the graveyard.

On the 17th the heat was intense, the whole garrison getting no rest, constantly on the alert against attacks. Some cases of cholera and deaths occurred to-day. The enemy have got an 18-lb. gun bearing on one corner of my house. Two shells fell into the Residency to-day, but no one was killed. Lieutenant Alexander, Royal Artillery, and Captain Barlow, Native Infantry, were both badly burned to-day in scaling a mortar. The enemy are busy constructing batteries, ditches, and intrenchments. At midnight they made an assault upon Gubbins's garrison, but were repulsed;

and another assault was made upon our position, but it was also unsuccessful. Four 18-lb. shot came through my house to-day, but no one was hit. Poor little Mary Strangways died of cholera. The stench of putrid animals still unburied is very oppressive: all possible sanitary measures are taken, but every one is overwhelmed with work and fatigue, and much cannot be done.

On July the 18th it rained heavily, after which the heat became intense. The enemy kept up a continuous fire upon the brigade mess, upon my house, and upon Gubbins's. A body fallen near the gate was dragged in, supposed to be one of our spies returning with a letter, but it proved to be that of a woman. A 6-lb. shot came through the veranda of my house, knocked away bricks and mortar, and fell at the feet of some of the ladies. Some children sitting in the veranda at the time had a narrow escape. Mrs Germon and Mrs Anderson served out the rations to-day, with attah, sago, and arrowroot.

On the 19th of July the firing was very heavy. A round-shot passed through the Residency when some officers were eating their food. It broke the leg of Lieutenant Harmer of the 32nd, but injured no one else. Lieutenant Arthur of the 7th Cavalry was shot dead at the Cawnpore battery. Two round-shot came through my drawing-room, into the long room; and another knocked down a door frame, near which the ladies were sitting: the frame fell on Mrs Boileau, but she was not hurt. It was Sunday, and Harris read service at twelve o'clock in the hall: the ladies came up from the *tyekhana* on purpose. In the afternoon an 18-lb. shot came through the house into the drawing-room, making an awful smash. It ended its course in a picture of the Transfiguration (Raphael), a valuable old copperplate engraving, knocking everything to pieces. One of the ladies had choleraic symptoms: I applied remedies, which happily arrested the mischief. At noon the enemy sounded the advance for an attack upon the Redan, but they were repulsed with grape and musketry. Poor Polehampton was seized with cholera.

Harris went to see him, and found him very ill. A few cases of drunkenness occurred among some of the garrison. Some of the small stock of liquor had been stolen: strict precautions were taken to prevent a recurrence of this.

On the 20th of July poor Polehampton died in the morning, and Harris is now the only chaplain except a Romish priest. The enemy have been tolerably quiet during the night, but in the early morning a large body of them were seen marching about in different directions and very close to our position. A sharp look-out was kept, and the garrisons were all on the alert, standing to arms, expecting an attack. About 10.15 A.M. I was sitting in the veranda adjusting the lock of my gun when a tremendous explosion in the direction of the Redan battery took place with a dull suppressed sound, and a column of smoke and earth ascended high in the air: the enemy had sprung a mine about 25 yards from our inner defences. It had evidently been intended to blow up the Redan battery, but had taken a wrong direction and told on one side of it. This was the signal for a general attack. Immediately the smoke and dust subsided a terrific fire was opened on us from all sides; every gun they could bring to bear on us was at work at once, and at the same time a hail of musketry was poured in. They attempted to storm the Redan, Innes's house, the Post Office, my house and garden. Every one was at his post, and poured shot, shell, grape, and musketry into them as hard as possible. The noise was frightful, the enemy shouting and urging each other on. It certainly seemed to me as if our time had come. The poor ladies were patiently waiting the result in the *tyekhana*. Our two guns were fired as rapidly as possible, as the enemy came swarming over the stables into the garden. Partridge and I, with the other officers, kept our guns and rifles going as fast as they could shoot, until at length the enemy fell back. They attacked all round in the same way, and each garrison had its hands full in repulsing them. They brought scaling-ladders up against the defences, but these were pushed back

and thrown down. Notwithstanding the fierceness of the attack, we managed to shelter ourselves so well that our loss was comparatively small. We did not know whilst the assault was going on how it might be faring with the other garrisons. We felt at the time that though kept out at one place they might get in at another. Happily, all succeeded in repulsing them, and thus their first great attempt was frustrated. Our sepoys behaved well; the pensioners, native artillery, and 13th Native Infantry, at the Bailey-guard with Aitken, behaved splendidly, though their comrades were amongst the assailants; the uncovenanted also did excellent service. Indeed, all did well. We killed numbers of the enemy, and from my garrison many were knocked over; their bodies lay till midnight, when they were dragged away. Our house was frightfully damaged. Harris was bathing when the attack began; a round-shot which went through the wall covered him with dust and plaster, but did not hurt him. The attack lasted till 1 P.M. I do not know exactly what our loss was, but it is stated to have amounted to four Europeans killed and twelve wounded, and about ten natives killed and wounded. We all feel more confidence now this is over; the enemy have done their worst, and we have completely foiled them, but we knew the respite would not last long. There were nine funerals that evening.

The night of the 20th was comparatively quiet, though they kept up the musketry fire and threw in a few round-shot. At 10 A.M. of the 21st the enemy effected a lodgment in the low building between the Sikh square and Gubbins's house, but were shelled out of it. On this day another great misfortume befell us. Major Banks, Sir Henry's successor, was in my house about 10 A.M. Whilst we were talking together, a poor fellow who had just been hit in the spine in my veranda was groaning in great suffering. Banks remarked, "I hope, when my time comes, I shall not suffer like that." He went back to Gubbins's garrison just as a heavy fire was being poured on it, and going up to the roof

of one of the outhouses, a sepoy, out of a loopholed building only a few yards distant, shot him through the head, and he fell dead on the spot. He had his wish, poor fellow! His wife and little girl were in the garrison; I had been present at the child's birth not long before the troubles began, and thinking her life in danger had myself baptised her. In Gubbins's house on this day, Dr Brydon, one of the Cabul heroes, called "the last man," was shot through the loins as he sat at dinner, and, of course, was quite disabled. I attended him, and did his work for him. He ultimately recovered from this wound, was made a C.B., and died some years later. According to Wilson, two European soldiers were killed and two wounded. The heat and the stench from the putrid cattle were dreadful. In going over to Gubbins's garrison to see some sick and wounded, I approached the entrance under a heavy musketry-fire from the neighbouring buildings. A native just in front of me suddenly fell with a groan, and at the same time I heard the thud of the bullet which struck him somewhere in the neck. I picked up the body and dragged or carried it into Gubbins's veranda; the bullets were striking the ground all round me at the time, but I could not leave him lying under fire. I did not know he was dead until I got him in. In returning to my own garrison a bullet, spent by striking the ground, I suppose, struck me, as it rose, in the shin, causing a most sickening pain and feeling of shock. I limped on and found the leg was severely contused, and the pain was very great. The ladies are occupied, as usual, making clothing, cooking the food, attending to the sick and wounded, and making themselves generally useful. The poor children are looking wretched from confinement, heat, and bad food. My wife is delicate, looks ill, and is able to do very little, but is patient and uncomplaining. Bob is getting to look like a wizened little old man! Miss Schilling devotes herself and is everything to him; but for her I don't think he could have survived. He and the other children live upon ground barley in the form of porridge. My private stores are rapidly diminishing,

stimulants all but expended, and what there is reserved for the sick. Tea and sugar have become medical comforts. We are rapidly approaching the stage when we shall only have commissariat rations of beef and flour; all are feeling the want of food, fresh air, and rest, and live in a constant state of anxiety and tension.

On July 22 Mrs Dorin, when sitting on a couch in Gubbins's garrison, was struck by a bullet in the head: I went over immediately, but found her dead. Last night two shells burst in the churchyard within 40 yards of where Harris was burying the dead, but no one was hurt. On the evening of this day there were nine funerals. Harris has a trying time; it seems only too probable that he may be knocked over some night into the grave with those he is burying, but he does his work nobly. Since Banks's death we have had no chief commissioner; it is now entirely a military affair, and Inglis is in command. Several cases of cholera have occurred, and smallpox appears to be on the increase. Our foes are numerous and varied! Wilson says that our numerical strength has much diminished, as we have had 151 casualties in the 32nd alone. We are in constant apprehension that some morning we shall find that our native allies have slipped out in the dark, making it impossible to man all the posts. Some have gone, but there has been no general desertion. Many of them have been faithful to their salt, and we owe them much. We have received no intelligence of any kind as yet, though we have sent out many messengers, and a subahdar of the 63rd Native Infantry has undertaken to take a letter to Cawnpore. The enemy brought the 8-inch howitzer across the river with a tumbrel drawn by elephants. During heavy rain when it became dark we moved 150 barrels of powder out of 240 we had buried. The work was very fatiguing in the darkness, the mud, and the rain. Hely's arm was amputated, gangrene having set in. There were one or two fresh cases of cholera on this day. In a sortie made from Gubbins's garrison one man

of the 32nd was killed. Heavy rain fell throughout the night.

On the 22nd of July we received our first communication from without. It was brought by a pensioner who left us on the 27th of June: he had been confined by the enemy, but had got away from Cawnpore two days before. A large British force is there with twelve guns; they had fought and beaten the Nana's troops three times, had taken many guns, and were preparing to advance to our relief. This news caused great excitement and revived our spirits, which had been rather depressed. This was Ungud, to whom I have referred before. He left again in two hours, through the heavy rain, taking a note to the officer commanding the force. The notes we have sent out are written on small pieces of thin paper in French, or in the Greek character. These are rolled up in a quill, carried sometimes on, sometimes *in*, the person. The effluvia from the animals is very annoying, and we had no one to spare from the defence to bury them. There was a false alarm that night that the enemy had got into the churchyard. Their bridge of boats was smashed by one of our 18-lb. shot. The upper story of the banqueting-hall is no longer tenable, and the wounded and sick are now placed on the ground-floor, and are not doing well owing to the close mephitic air. Pyæmia, dysentery, and cholera are telling heavily on us; we are indeed sorely pressed in many ways, but are determined to fight on.

On the 24th July we found the enemy were endeavouring to repair the bridge of boats, but they were prevented by one of our 18-pounders. The heat of the weather is terrible, and the flies have become an insufferable nuisance, giving us no rest day or night. My garrison are now reduced almost entirely to the commissariat rations, a small allowance of beef and flour; no butter or sugar attainable, but I managed to buy a small jar of ghee for 10 rupees. Tobacco is almost exhausted; a cigar is worth its weight in silver, and many of the men are seen smoking dried leaves rolled up like cigars. Small quantities of coarse tobacco

may be bought occasionally for large sums. About 20 maunds of grain are ground daily into flour. I hear that the 48th Native Infantry have had seven and the 71st Native Infantry upwards of fifty desertions since the commencement of the siege. In the evening the enemy shelled us freely, but without doing much damage. After dark Lieutenants Hutchinson and Birch crept down to examine the enemy's works in the neighbourhood of the Redan. We were constantly on the look out for mining, listening to the ground for the sound of subterranean workers. The children are suffering from boils and diarrhœa: poor little Bob has it badly, and is much wasted. Mrs Dashwood is very ill; my wife is very delicate and ailing. We are in a state of great misery and discomfort from the intense heat, the foul air, the wretched food, and the want of servants. With constant watching, fighting, and semi-starvation, the strength of every one is failing.

On the 25th of July an 8-inch shell fell through the roof of the Post Office on to the table where the officers were dining, but happily it did not explode. This was followed by several other shells, one of which fell in the veranda of the Post Office and shattered an artillery-man's hand. Two men of the 32nd were killed by rifle-shots, and a round-shot knocked off part of the roof of our house. On this day we had nine casualties, a heavy loss! All the evening we were continuously shelled by mortars and howitzers. The children get no rest at night, and they keep the poor ladies awake as well; they take it in turn to watch. We had managed to keep one punkah coolie who did some work, but it was very difficult to get a punkah pulled. My wife, Mrs Dashwood, and Mrs Barwell are ill, and unable to keep watch. We are occasionally able to get a very little goat's milk for the children. At night the pensioner sent out on the 22nd with a letter got in by Gubbins's compound, bringing a letter from Colonel Fraser Tytler, Q.M.G. with Havelock's force, telling us the condition of things with them. This is the first written intelligence we have re-

ceived, though we have now been twenty-six days besieged. It was decided to send this man, Ungud, out again with a plan of our position and the roads approaching: he was to receive 5000 rupees if he delivered it safely. I may here say that it is satisfactory to think that he lived to have his good services requited. He was amongst those presented to the Prince of Wales in 1876 when H.R.H. visited the ruins of the Residency. How little I could think in 1857 that it would fall to my lot in after-years to take the future king over our old position and through my house, pointing out the places of interest, including Sir Henry Lawrence's tomb, and present to him some of the aged survivors of the pensioners who had served us so loyally!

On the 26th July we found the enemy as energetic as usual, and as they must have heard of the approach of the relieving force, it is not at all unlikely that they will make increased efforts for our destruction. The news received yesterday has caused great excitement throughout the garrison, but all are enjoined to be very watchful and on the alert. Lieutenant Lewin, Royal Artillery, was shot dead in the Cawnpore battery in the morning, and it was feared that the enemy were trying to mine under this battery; a countermine was immediately begun in a house next the battery, an awful strain upon our already overworked men. We were heavily shelled nearly all day. The enemy made a strong attack upon our position all along the city side, but a few shells thrown among them brought down the firing to the usual average. Lieutenant Shepherd of the 7th Cavalry, another old Rangoon friend, was shot dead in the Brigade Square by a bullet from the top of the brigade mess, being taken for one of the enemy. A Martinière boy taking a note from our garrison was shot through the leg. Poor Mrs Grant died of cholera this day; her husband was also very ill, and they took the sacrament together; one of the children had died the day before. This being Sunday, we had service in my hall. Harris had just been over to Gubbins's to administer the sacrament to

another lady dying of cholera. We are very hard pressed, and in evil case if aid does not come soon.

On 27th July a mine from Johannes' house was discovered. A shell was dropped on to their sap, which blew the planks to pieces and put a stop to their work. The enemy were heard to be mining in the evening in the direction of the Sikh Square; a shaft 8 feet deep was sunk to countermine them, and on hearing this they desisted. The usual heavy musketry-fire was kept up all day. Captain Boileau of the 7th Cavalry was wounded. We were constantly listening for the sound of pickaxes working at mines. Partridge is busy concocting a galvanic battery to be used in our mining operations. Harris had only two funerals to-day. We were all anxiously looking for news of the relieving force.

On the 28th July the enemy threw in several shells and stink-pots, containing explosives and combustible matter; they come with a hissing noise and a horrible smell: shrapnel-shell are also coming frequently. Mining could be distinctly heard in the Sikh Square: our sap in that square met the enemy's sap, and their gallery was blown up with a heavy charge of powder, which brought down some of their houses. Good progress is being made with the Cawnpore battery sap; the Redan is being repaired and a 9-pounder placed in position. The heat, wet, privation, exposure, and foul air are telling heavily upon my garrison. Colonel Halford, who has been dangerously ill with carbuncle, died during the night. When at prayers this evening we had an alarm of an assault. Several volleys were fired with the usual shouting; but all rushed to their respective posts, and it was soon quelled.

On July 29 a rumour circulated through the garrison that the enemy had gone out in force to meet the coming troops, but no reliance can be placed on any reports of this kind. No fresh news of the relieving force has yet reached us, but we hope it must be getting nearer. Heavy artillery and musketry fire upon us to-day. The Cawnpore sap is now charged with 200 lb. of powder. Firing was heard to-day

in the Cawnpore direction, but we could get no information as to what it meant. This was repeated at 6 P.M., and soon after, several guns were heard in the direction of cantonments; this caused much excitement. All this time the enemy were keeping up a steady fire upon our position. Three or four hundred sepoys were seen running across the iron bridge, at whom two 18-lb. shot were fired. Another mine was discovered by a portion of it falling in near Sago's house. Poor Grant of the Bombay army died to-day of the effects of his wound, caused by the bursting of a hand-grenade in his hand. His wife and child, as before mentioned, had died quite recently of cholera. There is a report—how it came about I don't know—that the heavy firing heard to-day was in honour of Bridges Kudder, a boy, son of the king, whom the rebels have proclaimed king. The ladies in my house are busy making clothes, washing, cooking: poor things! some of them are endeavouring to make mourning.

On the 30th July rain fell heavily during the night. The enemy got so close to the walls of the Sikh lines that the muskets could not be depressed sufficiently to get at them, but they were dislodged by pistol-shots. Firing went on as usual with much bugling and noise. There are several cases of cholera, smallpox, and fever. Numbers of sepoys and matchlock-men were seen coming along the Cawnpore road, it was not known with what object. The firing, perhaps, was rather slacker to-day than usual. A sap is being sunk in an outhouse in the corner of the brigade mess. The enemy were heard mining yesterday, but now they have desisted. The sharpshooters are firing on all who show themselves, and an artillery sergeant, having incautiously exposed himself, was shot through both legs. At 8 P.M. Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Barwell, Lieutenant James, and Mr Lawrence were sitting on the *chabutra* in the Begum Koti, when a shell fell and exploded as it struck the parapet of the wall under which they were sitting, bringing it down. A large piece of masonry fell on James's charpoy

and broke it to pieces; he had a narrow escape, but was not hurt. Lawrence received a severe contusion. Mrs Clarke, wife of Lieutenant Clarke of the 21st Native Infantry, died this evening from the results of bad food and privation. The garrison are anxiously looking for the return of Ungud.

At daylight on July 31 the enemy fired heavily upon the church and Residency house from a 24-pounder near the iron bridge, and from the guns near the clock-tower, on my house and the Bailey-guard. We replied vigorously with our guns. The enemy continued throwing shells till 2 P.M., when, heavy rain coming on, the firing diminished to the usual average. In the evening the earthen defences were repaired as well as possible; they had been much injured by the rain, which had caused them to settle a good deal. No news of the relief force! There have been several deaths among the children, due to privation, heat, and bad food. The flies continue to be a perfect torment!

On the 1st of August we had still no news from outside, and great anxiety began to be felt, as the supplies are running out, especially for natives. The weather is very damp and oppressive, and there are several cases of cholera and several children very ill. There is great want of room for the sick and wounded, as the upper story of the banqueting-hall is now quite untenable. Boils covering the body are very common, and very irritating and depressing; many of us also are becoming scorbutic. The enemy shelled the garrison very heavily this day, and our big guns and mortars had hard work in keeping down their fire. A shell fell in the Begum Koti close to where some officers were eating, but no one was hurt. We are doing all we can to strengthen our defences. Our sap in the brigade mess is being pushed steadily on.

On the 2d August Hely, V.S., died of his wound. The wounded are not doing well. How could they under such circumstances? Everything is against them. Sharp firing was going on all day, and they are now firing rockets, which

make a fearful noise. A sergeant of artillery was mortally wounded in the Redan battery to-day. The enemy fired what seemed to be a salute of forty guns,—we do not know why. A Sikh sowar of the 3rd Cavalry deserted this morning. The wonder is that any of them remain! The *bhoosa*-stack fell to-day, burying eight or ten bullocks, which were got out with great labour, seven of them dead. In the evening the enemy kept up a heavy cannonade on both sides. An 8-inch shell burst in the Begum Koti, in the room where James and Sam Lawrence, both wounded, were lying, also one or two natives: the room was set on fire, but no one was hurt. It was Sunday and the Mohammedan *Bukreed*. We had anticipated a great attack on this day, but it was rather quieter than usual. The enemy perhaps are occupied with the coming force. Mrs Harris says[1]: "Poor little Bobbie F. is very ill. I never saw so sad a change as there is in him, from the lovely cherub of a child he was some time since. He is now quite a skeleton, and looks like a little old man. All the children are very bad; the want of fresh air, exercise, and the loss of their accustomed food have made them all ill." About this time Miss Schilling was sitting in the veranda with Bob in her lap, when a bullet, after striking the ground or some other object, struck the little fellow in the leg. It cut the skin and drew blood, but ended its course there and was found in Miss Schilling's dress. She carried the boy in immediately to his mother, who was lying very weak and ill at the time. The bullet remains in our possession to this day.

[1] A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIEGE OF THE RESIDENCY—*continued.*

Sewell's Enfield rifle—Splendid work of Engineers—Heavy fire from the enemy continues—Sharpshooters very troublesome—Further news from outside—Fighting on this side of the Ganges—Want of vegetable food—Heavy rain floods our trenches—Mining and countermining continue—Hand-grenades useful—General attack upon the garrison—Fall of portion of the Residency—Death of chief engineer—Ladies driven out of tykhana *by rats and intense heat—Driven back again by round-shot—Shrapnel shell bursts in my wife's bedroom—Mine in Sikh Square blows up officers and men—Assault repulsed—My child dangerously ill—Great mortality amongst the children—Johannes' house blown up by mine—Rations reduced—Major Bruère killed—Fulton killed—Eclipse of the sun—Logs of wood shot in—Heavy rains, houses not water-tight—Letter from Outram—Continued heavy firing—Firing of relief force heard—Europeans seen fighting—Entry of Outram and Havelock.*

On August 3, when Partridge was going over to Gubbins's garrison, a shell burst over his head, but he was unhurt. A soldier of the 32nd was shot dead in the centre room of the hospital, showing how little shelter there is anywhere from the enemy's fire. Heavy firing went on all night and to-day. Lieutenant Sewell, who has an Enfield rifle, from a loophole in the brigade mess did considerable execution among the enemy, at a distance of 750 to 800 yards, as they went up a lane or across an open space seen from that post. They must have been rather astonished, for an Enfield rifle was rare in those days! The Engineer officers, who are

indefatigable in their labours, are doing splendid work and strengthening our positions everywhere possible. About 10 P.M. the enemy's fire, which had slackened for a time, became more vigorous again, and continued throughout the night. The enemy's cavalry seem to be moving, purpose not known. Several cannon-shot were heard in the distance. We have had no news, and our fate seems quite uncertain; but we have made up our minds never to give in, —rather to blow up the whole intrenchment. Our food is rapidly diminishing, our defences crumbling under shot and shell, and our numbers daily decreasing. We have a numerous and well-armed enemy, keeping up a constant cannonade and musket-fire upon us, and undermining us in all directions.

On August 4 an East Indian volunteer was killed at the 9-lb. gun on my platform; he had a wife and four children in the garrison. The heavy fire upon us is maintained as usual. It is difficult to get any man to go out now with a written message; they know if they were to be caught they would be killed at once. Many are laid up with fever and dysentery, which is now assuming a scorbutic character. About 2 P.M. the fire slackened, but towards evening the garrison was heavily shelled again: one shell exploded in the Second Brigade Square, but no one was hurt. Our powder-magazines are being made more secure by putting heavy beams across the roof.

On August 5 we managed to get another letter sent out to the relief force, which we imagine may be detained at the Bunny bridge. Great efforts are being made to clear some of the drains and trenches, and so reduce the stench which pervades the garrison. An attempt was made to give some of the wounded and sick a change by moving them to the Thug jail, and thus secure more room at the hospital, but the conditions are bad everywhere. The enemy could be seen marching about, with drums and fifes playing, from the river towards the Cawnpore road. After this they shelled us again heavily till about 8 P.M., when the fire slackened.

On the 6th of August several 24-lb. shot struck the Residency house. Ensign Studdy of the 32nd had his arm carried away, and underwent amputation. This gun, which caused great annoyance, was directed chiefly on the Residency and church: it was concealed, and so far off that we could neither take it by the bayonet nor silence it with our guns, so the only resource was to shell it. All but some fighting men are to vacatè the Residency house to-day. The sharpshooters in Johannes' house are very troublesome: to-day they killed a sweeper, a very valuable man. The heat is intense; many, including Colonel Inglis, are suffering from it. Some earth was heaped on the magazines to protect them as much as possible. A carcass came into the Begum Koti and set things on fire, but it was soon extinguished. The enemy, with much bugling and drumming, kept up a very heavy fire on us in the evening. During the night a working-party was employed in making a battery for an 18-pounder, with the hope of silencing the 24-pounder before mentioned, if possible. A sepoy of the Oudh Native Infantry, who took out a letter for the relief force, came in at 9 P.M. He said he had delivered the letter and received one in reply, but had lost it; half an hour later a sepoy of the 48th Native Infantry, who had been sent into the city two days before, returned and stated that he had been confined by the enemy, but had made his escape. His news corroborated the other man's, which was not at first believed, that the relieving force had recrossed the river to Cawnpore, having at first achieved great success on this side of the Ganges. He said he had seen General Havelock; that there were four European and one Sikh regiments; that one of the European regiments had a curious *baja* played in front of it, meaning the bagpipes; that they had had a fight with the enemy on the first march after leaving Cawnpore, and had taken eighteen guns. They had had another fight with the villagers and sepoys, who had decamped, leaving five more guns in their hands; that they then recrossed the

river, hearing that the Nana was going to attack Cawnpore, but that they were coming on again. There were 200 cavalry with our force, he said, composed of officers and men who had lost their regiments.

On August the 7th the 18-pounder, which was set up in Innes's battery, was brought to bear upon the 24-pounder, which it soon silenced. The garrison was heavily shelled to-day. One shell burst near the Residency and mortally wounded the colour-sergeant and orderly-room clerk of the 32nd. Captain Waterman of the 13th Native Infantry was also wounded by a bullet. Part of the Residency veranda was knocked down to-day, and also that of a house called after Deprat, a merchant, near the Cawnpore battery. Heavy rain filled our trenches during the day, and damaged the hose laid for the mine for Johannes' house. There was an alarm of an assault on my house, but after a few rounds from the guns it subsided. Lieutenant Bryce and Dr MacDonald died of cholera on this day. A soldier of the 32nd was killed, and Mrs Banks's ayah was shot through the thigh by a musket-ball. There was no further intelligence of the relief force to-day, and the few servants and natives left with us seem most anxious about it, as we all are. The commissariat are now serving out rice to the natives to economise the flour we have left: tea and coffee all expended, tobacco also nearly exhausted. One of our greatest wants is that of vegetable food, and the men risk their lives daily to gather the leaves of a wild cruciferous plant growing amongst the ruins: this is much prized as a green vegetable. Scurvy is prevailing, and the want of this article of diet is severely felt. There are reports of heavy distant firing having been heard, and in the afternoon a regiment was seen marching, with colours flying, in the direction of the Cawnpore road. Sewell, who was mentioned as having been very successful with his Enfield rifle, found the open space where he had killed several of the enemy barricaded: this obstructed the view of what was going on, and spoiled his shooting. This is the first

day on which we have had no one killed. Harris went to the Begum Koti to baptise a dying child. He is constantly occupied with such duties, which, with the burial services every day, make the office a most trying and dangerous one, and he acquits himself of it splendidly.

On the 9th of August Mrs Barwell gave birth to a boy in my house. Poor Studdy died of his wound to-day. Mrs Huxham and Mrs Kendal both lost their babies. The ladies are now no longer able to take turns in night watching, they are too much exhausted. They were talking of sleeping in the dining-room again as they had done before, when two round-shot came crashing through it, which decided them against it. This being Sunday, service was held both in my house and the brigade mess for all who could attend—not many. A 9-lb. shot came into the room where Clarke was to-day, but nobody was hurt. Ensign Loughnan, who has been defending Innes's post with great gallantry, made a sortie with a few men in the middle of the day and spiked one of the enemy's guns without sustaining any loss. The heavy rain has again flooded our trenches, adding greatly to our discomfort and labour. A Sikh sowar came into the Residency to-day; but he is suspected to be a spy and is placed in confinement, not being allowed to speak to anybody. The invalids in my house are getting on pretty well, but poor Bob and his mother are very weak and sickly, and cause me much anxiety. The ladies are all as good as they can be, helping each other and the sick, and they have very little assistance. It may be imagined what they have to endure under the accumulated difficulties of the situation.

On the 10th of August, according to Wilson, about 1600 men with two guns were seen moving in the Cawnpore road direction about 10 A.M., and another large body of men approached the bridge of boats not long after. The whole garrison were on the alert and at their posts. Just after this a shell was sent into the Begum Koti and a mine was sprung, which blew up a great part of the post occupied

by the Martinière boys, destroying palisades and defences for 60 feet, sending the timber far and wide. Immediately after this the enemy came on under a heavy fire to Johannes' house and surrounded the Cawnpore battery, which they tried to take by assault. Some thirty of them lodged themselves in the ditch of this battery close under the mouths of our guns, but some grenades ejected them, and they bolted and came under the fire of the brigade mess. An assault was also made on Sago's house, where the enemy again exploded a mine, which destroyed some outhouses and blew two soldiers into the air, who, strange to say, fell unhurt and got back safely to their posts. The enemy then came on to the attack, but were driven back with severe loss; after this they kept up a heavy fire for about two hours. About 5 P.M. they attacked Captain Saunders's post, but were driven back: one of them actually got hold of the bayonet of an 84th man, who immediately shot him. In a short time they were driven back and the fire slackened. At 9 P.M. they made another attack, and were again repulsed everywhere after hard fighting. My garrison came in for much of the heavy cannonade and fusilade. All were greatly fatigued with the heat, the labour, and the excitement. This was another great and general effort to annihilate us. After 10 P.M. they quieted down, having lost many men and thoroughly failed in their attempt. Captain Power of the 32nd, who had been wounded early in the siege, died to-day. Major Anderson, the chief engineer, is very ill. We threw 150 8-inch shells besides great quantities of round-shot and grape, and there can be no doubt that we destroyed a large number of the enemy. Mrs Ouseley, wife of Lieutenant Ouseley of the 48th Native Infantry, gave birth to a child during the night. What a state of things for such an event! Later, when the ladies in my house were settling themselves for the night, another attack was made upon our position; but it was repulsed, and the night passed comparatively quietly till about 2 A.M. of the 11th August, when another attack was made, which subsided soon into

the routine firing. During this day (August 10th) three Europeans and two sepoys were killed and ten or twelve wounded.

On the 11th of August thirty of the enemy got into the compound of Germon's post, next door to us, but were driven out by hand-grenades. The continual heavy fire on the Residency had shaken the building so much that a great portion of it fell to-day when the wind was rather strong, burying six men of the 32nd. After great labour two of them were got out alive, but the other four could not be got at and had to be left. A few women and children who still remained were removed elsewhere. We lost our chief engineer, Major Anderson, to-day. He had been previously in ill health, and his death was due to overwork and privation: he was a most excellent officer, and was a great loss. The enemy were seen carrying off their dead, and dhoolies were moving about, no doubt to take up the wounded. They were very active in Gubbins's direction and at the Sikh Squares, where they kept pushing through lighted straw with sticks. Firing was heavy in the evening. One of the four bodies buried in the Residency was got out before night.

At 3 A.M. on the 12th the firing of round-shot and musketry became very heavy. We replied chiefly with shells, keeping as close under cover as possible. At daylight the cannonade and musket-fire on the Cawnpore battery was very heavy: the screen before the guns being knocked away, the battery became untenable. The men were withdrawn for a time, but in the evening the sentry, the one man who had remained, was killed by a round-shot. A sortie was attempted by Hutchinson and Clery, with twelve Europeans, but the fire they met with was so heavy that they were obliged to return. In the evening a 9-pounder which had been injured in the Cawnpore battery was got out, and attempts were made to strengthen the battery. Several shells fell into the garrison after dark. The heat is intense, and some deaths from cholera occurred among the adults

and from exhaustion among the children. Up to the present time twenty letters have been sent out but only one reply received. An old native woman this day took out a letter in a quill addressed to General Havelock, and it seems possible that she may be able to escape the enemy's observation.

There was a heavy fire early on the 13th of August for half an hour, which soon subsided into the wonted fusilade. At 10 A.M. a mine at Sago's house was exploded. Wilson says of this: "The brick house in which the enemy was, and from which they had started their mine, settled down, burying all inside; the earth was thrown up to a considerable height; only one outhouse of our own of no consequence was destroyed. Up to the last moment the people inside the enemy's mine were hard at work, and after the explosion the groans of the sufferers were plainly audible. In the course of the day some few of the enemy were shot from Sago's post." A sortie was made from Gubbins's post in the afternoon, and the engineers discovered a deep trench through the outhouses for some distance towards our position. In several places they were distinctly heard to be mining during the day; the engineers are doing all that is possible with the exhausted men to frustrate their designs. At about 10 P.M. the enemy opened a very heavy fire of round shot and musketry, which continued for nearly half an hour. In Anderson's house, near the Cawnpore battery, a mine was begun, the sap commencing at the depth of eight feet. Great suffering from heat, mosquitoes, bugs, and flies. Distant firing was heard from the Redan battery, which perhaps gave rise to vague rumours that the relief is approaching. Four Europeans died in the hospital to-day; there are many cases of fever.

On August 14 a sweeper was caught entering the intrenchments, but no reliance could be placed on what he said: there are, however, rumours that the relief force is at Bushir Gunge. There are more cases of fever and several deaths among the children. Food for the bullocks (our

beef) is running short. This day my wife was very ill and weak with a choleraic attack: we barricaded the windows of one of the upper rooms with boxes of earth and placed her in it. My anxiety is very great! Bob is a little puling skeleton, and but for Miss Schilling must have died ere this! Ground barley from the stable is the best food I can get for him. Wilson says: "Most of our outpost houses were now so riddled with round-shot that it was a wonder how any of them stood up at all; indeed most of them were in ruins, and at Anderson's house part of the garrison had been twice pulled out of the ruins, which had suddenly fallen upon them. Nevertheless these posts, in spite of many casualties, were held with the same courage and devotion as was displayed the first day of the siege." Hutchinson and Fulton of the Engineers examined all my outhouses to-day for mines. The smell of the churchyard was so offensive that it made poor Harris quite ill, bringing on vomiting. Mining now seems to be the enemy's chief mode of attack, but they keep up the cannonade and musket-fire all the same. My wife and Bobbie are still very ill, and poor little Herbert Dashwood is dangerously so. The ladies are coming up to sleep in the dining-room, for the *tyekhana* is so damp and unhealthy and the rats so troublesome. This is the third time they have tried to sleep in the dining-room, and have been driven out of it by round-shot. In the afternoon a 9-lb. shrapnel burst on the roof, wounding two of the pensioners and a European. An 18-lb. shot also came into my house but did not hurt any one. The enemy have been firing salvos of two or three 18-lb. shot into the Cawnpore battery, and brought down the outer wall of the house alongside it. Lieutenant Bonham was severely bruised by bricks knocked out by a round-shot, a sentry was killed by one, and Lieutenant Alexander, R.A., was shot through the arm whilst laying a gun. The Cawnpore battery was repaired as much as possible during the night. Harris had no funeral to-night. At 9 P.M. Ungud came in, bringing a letter from Cawnpore. It was not very recent,

as he had been imprisoned. When he got out he went back to Cawnpore to obtain further news, and found that the force had returned there. He heard that fresh European troops were coming up country, when, about the 20th, Havelock intended to advance again: immediate relief seems improbable. On the afternoon of the 16th of August I had a great alarm. A shell entered my house on the city side, and immediately exploded in the room where my wife was lying ill. The bed was in the middle of the small room, the window, as I have said, being barricaded with boxes of earth. She was lying on the bed, and Mrs Boileau was sitting by her side. A crash was heard as the shell struck the corner of the door leading into the veranda, on the right, and much brickwork was knocked out. They had hardly realised this when a loud explosion took place; there was a rush of flame, with bullets and fragments of shell through the room, round them, and over them; the bed-clothes were set on fire, but neither of them was touched. I rushed to the room; it was full of smoke and dust, with a smell of burning. The *resai* (quilt) was on fire. My wife immediately spoke to me out of the smoke and said she was not hurt, so did Mrs Boileau. They were both perfectly composed and tranquil, though they had just been through an ordeal to which few women have been exposed. I carried her into an inner room where Mrs Barwell and her baby were placed. The shell which had burst was a 9-lb. shrapnel full of bullets. These and pieces of the splintered shell were picked up about the room and on the bed. After this the ladies did not wish to sleep in the dining-room, but as the *tyekhana* had become so unhealthy they made up their minds to do so; it was the less evil of the two. The Cawnpore battery has been repaired, and the mine at Anderson's house is progressing. The enemy have a new gun in position against the brigade mess and another against Gubbins's, but the latter was quickly silenced by one of our 9-pounders. They threw in some more 8-inch shells in the evening and many round-shot during the night, when the

roof of my house was hit more than once. Divine service was performed as usual.

On the 17th my wife and Bobbie and little Dashwood were still very ill. As the Residency building has become quite unsafe, the few people left in it were cleared out. The cannonade and fusilade goes on heavily. More round-shot went through the Residency house again to-day. Mines, intended for Johannes' house, in Anderson's house, and the Martinière boys' garrison, are progressing. The Sikhs work well in these mines, and each man receives two rupees a-night.

On the 18th of August at daylight a mine exploded in the outer Sikh Square. Two officers and two sentries on the top of the house were blown into the air, and six or seven sepoys were buried in the ruins and killed. Two officers and one man fell on the ruins inside, and, though much bruised, escaped with their lives; the fourth man fell outside, and was killed by the enemy. A breach of about 30 feet was made in our defences, whereon the enemy made a rush, but their leader being shot from the top of the brigade mess, and the next man sharing his fate, they retreated. Some men of the 84th kept up a heavy fire also, boxes and planks were piled up, and a 9-pounder loaded with grape was placed so as to command the breach. The enemy then appeared on the right flank, but some shots from a mortar and a howitzer, with a sudden charge upon them, drove them away entirely, and we regained the ground lost in the morning, taking possession of some houses previously occupied by the enemy between Gubbins's house and the Sikh Square. These houses, from which they had annoyed us much, were then blown up, and the breach was barricaded against any sudden rush. Amongst those mortally wounded was a volunteer named Deprat, a French merchant, who had fought very valiantly. At this time Lieutenant Fletcher of the 48th, a very able young officer, was shot through the arm, and Lieutenant Graham was hit in the chest by a spent ball. This had been a very trying day to our weak garrison.

Poor little Bobbie was very ill that night; Mrs Germon and Miss Schilling watched him tenderly. A sortie was made during the day, young Johannes' house was blown up, and eleven men were bayoneted there. We also blew up some houses in the neighbourhood and destroyed two of the enemy's mines. My wife, who is still very weak, was brought into the veranda for fresh air. Mrs Dashwood's child died about 3 A.M. During the night we had an alarm of an assault on our house with much firing of big guns and small arms; it was vigorously replied to, and soon subsided. On the 19th the premises seized yesterday were examined by the engineers, the enemy keeping up a dropping fire. It was found that they had cut trenches not only in the ground but through the *pukkah* buildings; and pools of blood show the effects of our shells, which we dropped on to them with small charges of powder. A very heavy cannonade in the afternoon subsided into the usual musketry-fire. The little Dashwood baby was wrapped in a white cloth and taken to the burial-ground. Poor Mrs Dashwood has now lost husband and child. Her other little boy is very ill.

On the 20th a man of the 32nd was killed at the 18-pounder in my garden. In the early morning heavy firing was opened upon the Cawnpore battery,—the heaviest, Wilson says, we have yet had. It continued for three hours, brought down a great portion of Deprat's house, and injured the Thug jail. Some rooms at the top of the brigade mess have been destroyed by round-shot. Another 8-inch shell exploded in the Residency. There is great mortality amongst the children and fever amongst the garrison, but happily smallpox and cholera do not increase. The enemy were heard mining behind the brigade mess, and occupied in some other work in the rear of Johannes' house. An 8-inch shell burst in a trench close to Captain Lowe of the 32nd, wounded him in the arm, and cut off the arm of a soldier near him. The enemy brought logs of wood and combustibles and set fire to the Bailey-guard gate, but it was extinguished by the *bhisties*

of the 13th Native Infantry: this was followed by a heavy fusilade, which lasted half an hour. One or two of the men of my garrison, who were in the lower part of the garden, shot some of the enemy as they came up to burn the gate.

On the morning of the 21st the mine under Johannes' house, planned by Fulton and carried out with unwearying energy by Macleod Innes, was reported ready, and was exploded at 5 P.M. the same day, bringing it down. There was then a sortie of fifty Europeans under Captain M'Cabe and Lieutenant Brown. The latter with a small party spiked the guns of the enemy's battery, though very imperfectly, owing to the large size of the touch-holes, and in a few hours they were at work again. The former, accompanied by Captain Fulton, made for Johannes' shop, next to the house, which they blew up, completely dislodging the enemy, who made very little resistance: several of them were killed, and our loss was three killed and two wounded. This operation was thus entirely successful, and rid us of a house from which the enemy had caused us much annoyance. An 8-inch shell fell on the top of the Residency about 9 P.M. and exploded, fortunately without injuring anybody.

On August 22 a round-shot came into one of the bath-rooms in my house and covered Clarke, who was there, with plaster, but did not hurt him. During the night the Cawnpore and Redan batteries were repaired. Our defences have been greatly injured by the heavy rains and the incessant cannonade of the enemy. A European sentry was shot dead at the Bailey-guard gate to-day, and a rebel sepoy wounded three of our men from a neighbouring loophole. Sergeant Ryder of the Artillery was killed by a musket-ball in the churchyard, and Mrs Green, wife of Lieutenant Green of the 48th Native Infantry, died to-day. Captain Hawes of the 63rd Native Infantry was wounded in the arm at the top of Gubbins's house. One native was killed and another wounded by a shrapnel. There are reports of distant firing, but no one pays any attention to them, we have been disappointed so often.

On Sunday the 23rd there was divine service with sacrament in my house in the afternoon, and at the brigade mess in the morning. A heavy cannonade went on from daybreak till 10 P.M. They seem intent on injuring the brigade mess and Cawnpore battery, and did much harm to both: two men were mortally wounded. They are trenching and digging in all directions. At the service in my house to-day my wife and Mrs Barwell were both present, lying on couches. Several recently made widows were also present—Mrs Halford, Mrs Polehampton, Mrs Dashwood, Mrs Barbor, and Mrs Lewin. It was a touching sight.

At 2 A.M. of the 24th the enemy opened a heavy fire of musketry and round-shot upon us. Three round-shot came into my house, but our guns replied vigorously. Germon's post is in a dangerous state from the effects of round-shot, so all except the fighting men were removed from it to the Begum Koti. Bonham is setting up an 8-inch mortar on a carriage to act as a howitzer. This was called "the ship," and did great service. The sharpshooters from the loopholes and places of vantage are very active to-day. Heavy fire of round-shot brought down the whole of the veranda of the west side of the Residency. At night the enemy fired round-shot, grape, and musketry incessantly from all round; they bugled and shouted freely, but did not attempt to storm. A sergeant of the 84th was dangerously wounded by a musket-shot, and Macrae, C.E., was badly hit in the shoulder at the Post Office mortar battery. The joint was comminuted, but I decided not to amputate, and Partridge agreed with me: all amputations are proving fatal. I took away all the loose bone and dressed the wound. He recovered, I am glad to say, and I saw him in after-years in perfect health and with a useful arm. One of the inmates of my house is very ill with erysipelas. Two sepoys of the 13th were wounded to-day. A khitmutgar made his way in last night, but he is suspected to be a spy and is put under guard.

A sharp attack was made on the Bailey-guard gate on the

morning of the 25th, a heavy fire being kept up till 9 A.M., after which it slackened. The enemy have a new gun in position bearing upon Gubbins's, and a magazine for the Post Office battery has been completed. Some stores belonging to the 32nd still remaining in the Residency were transferred elsewhere, as the building threatens to come down, it is so heavily pounded by round-shot. On the whole, the firing has been slacker than usual to-day.

The 26th of August was rather an eventful day for me, as I had a narrow escape of my life. Early in the morning there was a sudden alarm, bugling, shouting, with heavy fire of musketry and big guns. I was lying down in the long room, and hearing the "turn out," I jumped up and went out into the veranda. I had hardly got there when I was struck to the ground by a violent blow between the shoulders, which half stunned and paralysed me for a moment. I at the same time heard the rush and shrieking of grape as it passed in a shower, raking my front garden and the veranda. A 32nd man close to me fell with a groan, a grape-shot having passed through his thigh. My companions rushed out and picked me up, and Partridge found a large contusion upon my back, discoloured and swollen already. They took me inside and made me lie down. The pain was severe and the shock considerable, but I was soon about again. My wife did not know I had been hit until it was clear that no great harm had been done. The poor soldier died. I was saved by my particular pellet of grape having passed through a wooden screen and the back of a chair standing in the veranda before it hit me. Lieutenant Webb of the 32nd was killed by a round-shot to-day at Gubbins's, and a jemadar of the 71st Native Infantry was shot dead near the Redan battery by a rifle-shot. Innes's house is now pronounced to be dangerous, it is so seriously injured by round-shot. The enemy are reported to be mining at the Redan: they are perpetually digging, throwing up earthworks, and making trenches. Some of the few remaining servants deserted last night. Reports

are rife that they all intend to do so unless the relief comes very soon, and there is no news of it yet.

On the 27th of August our rations were reduced—men to have 12 ounces of meat, women 6 ounces: the dâl is also diminished. There was heavy rain during last night. The cannon and musketry fire were severe in the morning, and an English soldier was wounded in our veranda. In the evening a 3-lb. shot killed a soldier of the 32nd and carried off the arm of another. A new gun has been brought to bear on the racquet-court, where we have no means of answering it. Wilson says: "Our men (working in the gallery we had run out 33 feet to the right of the brigade mess-house) heard the enemy distinctly mining towards us, their sap seeming to run for the centre of the brigade-mess." Sir H. Lawrence's supplies, which had been kept up to this time, were sold by auction to-day—brandy at the rate of from Rs. 140 to 160 per dozen; beer, Rs. 60 to 70; sherry, Rs. 70; hams, Rs. 70 to 75 each; bottle of honey, Rs. 45; rifle-powder, Rs. 16 per lb.; small cakes of chocolate, from Rs. 30 to 40, and other things in proportion. It is a wonder the things were kept so long!

On the 28th of August the mining work was found to have been injured by the heavy rain which fell all night. Sickness from fever and privation is prevalent. There was a heavy fire upon Gubbins's house from two guns. In the night three men deserted from his garrison; one, a choprassy, carried off with him Rs. 400. Four other servants belonging to different officers deserted. Bonham fired "the ship" four-teen times to-day, with great success, against the guns that have been battering Gubbins's. Ungud has come in again and brought a letter from Havelock dated the 21st of August, saying there is no hope of our being relieved for another twenty-five days. Sir Colin Campbell had arrived in Calcutta as Commander-in-Chief, and is despatching troops up country as quickly as possible; Lucknow will be his first care. The letter begged us also on no account to treat with the enemy, but rather to die at our posts. Ungud

says that in General Havelock's camp he met a man from Delhi who told him we have a large force before that city. The day has been moderately quiet, but with the usual musketry fire.

On 29th August the weather was colder, much to our relief. Our miners are trying to break into the enemy's gallery, and at 10 P.M. they did so, put in a barrel of powder, and blew it up. More than once they met and shot the enemy's miners underground. The heavy rain has broken in an unsuspected mine leading to Sago's house. It is feared that they are now mining the Redan. Gubbins's upper story has been so much injured by round-shot that it is unsafe, and the ladies have had to leave it for the lower story. A native artilleryman deserted from this post; the sentry saw him and fired, but missed him. Sickness is increasing; the conditions are insanitary to a degree. As we now know that the siege must be protracted perhaps for another month, increased economy of our stores is to be practised. I was suffering a good deal of pain and stiffness from the contusion caused by the grape-shot, but managed to keep at work. About this time I was fortunate enough to obtain the services of Manuel, a Madras boy, who was very useful in the house.

On the 30th we found that two native servants we had engaged after the others left had deserted us. A soldier's wife named Mrs Need came to our garrison to assist in cooking, &c.; there was no one to do this this morning, when we found the two natives had bolted. Four half-castes who had been addicted to opium-eating, and who had been unable to obtain their usual quantity, left the garrison, having written on a door or a wall that they had left because they could get no opium and no stimulants. We heard afterwards that they were killed directly they got outside: ten natives and seven drummers went with them. There had been a heavy cannonade all night. An 8-inch shell burst in the native hospital, killing one and wounding two. This being the last day of the Moharram, we expected

an attack, but it did not take place. Lieutenant Bonham was badly wounded at the Post Office. He recovered, and, as Gubbins says, "lived to be neglected." This was Sunday, and service was held at Gubbins's house and mine and the sacrament administered.. A European soldier died suddenly to-day. Great difficulty is now experienced in finding shelter for the women and children, for all places are so crumbled with shot, shell, and musketry. The stench from decomposing organic matter is dreadful, and there are many cases of fever. In the neighbourhood of the commissariat stores it is the worst, as there is no means of getting rid of the offal and refuse. Nearly every officer who slept in this place has been laid up with fever, but being a weak as well as an important post, it is necessary that two officers should be with the party that occupy it. There was a heavy cannonade in the evening.

In the morning of the 31st August Mrs Dashwood gave birth to a son: the ladies did all they could for her comfort and assistance. The enemy having got another 32-lb. gun into position under the Lutkun darwaza, just opposite the Bailey-guard gate, fired on it, smashing two ammunition waggons with which the gate was barricaded. There was the usual amount of firing during the day. At 10 P.M. the enemy opened a general heavy fire on us all round, but it subsided into the usual musketry fire in about half an hour. The 13th Native Infantry at the Bailey-guard gate are making a new sunken battery to oppose the guns at the Lutkun darwaza. An 8-inch shell exploded just opposite the Redan battery. The heat of the weather is intense. The khitmutgar who came in ten days ago, supposed to be a spy, has escaped. As he has been in confinement all the time, he will not be able to give any information.

The two Martinière boys acting as servants in my house were taken away on the 1st of September, being wanted to grind corn for the garrison, as all boys over ten years of age are now required for this duty; my ladies will consequently have to work harder than ever! Mrs Dashwood and her

baby are doing well; a nurse has been found for them from amongst the soldiers' wives. My wife and boy are still ill and weak, though rather better than they were. The morning was comparatively cool; there was less firing, but a great deal of bugling heard. The last artillery cook boy deserted last night. The bullocks upon which we depend for our food are getting sick; they have long been thin enough! Some wounded horses were turned out to-day. In the evening two European artillerymen were killed in the Post Office battery by a round-shot. Two 8-inch shells exploded near the magazine but did no injury to it. Our mines are progressing; that at Anderson's house has been completed, but not yet charged, as it is used as a listening-gallery. Another mine is being constructed at Saunders's post; the enemy are mining all round, and are reported to be running another under the brigade mess. We live in constant apprehension of being blown into the air. A remarkable incident occurred in the Post Office garrison. Lieutenant Hall of the 1st Fusiliers was lying on a charpoy, his head resting upon a pillow which projected. A round-shot passed through the room, tore away the pillow, and scattered its contents: Hall was untouched, though rather startled! It was a wonderfully narrow escape. Amongst many escapes that occurred during the defence, that of my wife and Mrs Boileau was amongst the most remarkable. On the other hand, people were struck in places apparently quite sheltered, and much sorrow was caused when one of our excellent old native pensioners was killed by a bullet at the bottom of the steps leading to my kitchen. Regrettable irregularities are occurring amongst the besieged, probably the effect of long confinement, hunger, thirst for drink, and a feeling too prevalent that we may never get out alive. Mrs Germon[1] says: "The looting now is something dreadful; some of the crown jewels have been stolen, and a bottle of brandy will now purchase a handful of precious stones. C. told me he had seen a handful of pearls, one of them very large, which

[1] A Lady's Diary during the Siege of Lucknow. By Mrs R. C. Germon.

had been purchased for twenty rupees." I can only say that I never saw any of these things, though I did hear of them.

The last cook-boys of the 32nd deserted on September 2. Lieutenant Birch of the 59th Native Infantry was killed by one of our own sentries. He had been out with four other officers to explore some ruins for indications of mining. A sentry of the 32nd, who had not been warned, seeing objects moving in the dark outside our limits, fired and shot poor Birch through the body, and he died in two hours. He had only been married six or eight months; his young wife was in the garrison expecting her confinement. Harris was with him when he died. His father, Colonel Birch, had been killed at Seetapore; he and his young wife had escaped from the massacre there into Lucknow.

By way of disposing of some of the accumulated treasure, an advance of pay was made to all the people in the garrison. The chief object of this was, I suppose, to reduce the bulk of the specie which would have to be carried if we got out. Further efforts are to be made to reduce the issue of flour; the garrison-ground wheat was served out to a greater extent in lieu of it. Our diet is poor indeed now, especially for the sick. Many are feeling half starved, and many are becoming scorbutic; the least contusion leaves a large blue mark. The great heat by day and heavy dews by night are very trying. The men are now much in the trenches; our tents are all rotten from being used as barricades and from exposure. In the evening Gubbins's was heavily cannonaded, and two English soldiers were badly wounded by grape-shot at his post. The enemy were heard moving their guns about, one heavy one with elephants, in the direction of the Cawnpore battery.

The outer wall of the brigade mess fell on September 4, crumbled by the constant impact of the enemy's shot. No one was hurt, though the women and children had a very narrow escape. This increased the difficulty of sheltering them, crowded as they are already. Many cling to the ruined rooms, though left much exposed to shot, rather

than go into the fetid atmosphere of a crowded building. Major Bruère of the 13th Native Infantry was shot through the lungs at the top of the mess-house to-day, and died in a few minutes. Those who brought his body down had to crawl on hands and knees. The sepoys of his regiment insisted on carrying his body to the grave, so devoted were they to him. They were, under Aitken, gallantly holding the Bailey-guard gate, one of the most exposed and dangerous posts, against men of their own regiment, who too, had they remained with us instead of following the scoundrels who led them away under an infatuation they could neither resist nor understand, would have been just as loyal as the men who carried Bruère to his grave, lived on wretched food, bore all kinds of privation, fought day and night, and gave up their lives as readily as any devotee or patriot who died for his faith or country. During the day there was great excitement and movement in the city, which subsided before noon; we did not know the cause. The sunken battery at the Bailey-guard gate is now nearly completed. An 18-lb. gun was got into it to-day. Think what work this implied by men worn out with fatigue, watching, mining, heat, stench, hunger! The enemy dropped two shells close to it.

On the 5th September Lieutenant Graham from Secrora shot himself: his mind had given way under the stress of the trials to which he had been exposed. His wife had been confined only a few days before, and one of his children had died. Soon after daylight the enemy commenced the heaviest cannonade we have had since the siege began. Masses of infantry and cavalry were seen at sunrise moving round our position, evidently preparing for an attack. They opened fire upon us from a new battery of two guns from across the river, and at 10 A.M. they exploded two mines, one at Gubbins's, the other near the brigade mess; but the explosions occurred short of the defences, and did us no harm. Then under a tremendous fire they assaulted Gubbins's post, placing ladders against the bastion; but

they were not able to get in, being received with musketry and hand-grenades. After many had been killed they fell back into the houses, where they kept up a heavy fire, not only on Gubbins's post but on the Sikh Square and brigade mess. We also, like others, had our share, though not so seriously. At all points they were beaten back with great loss, and later they were seen carrying off their killed and wounded in carts. The men in my garrison had very hard work to-day. Three men of the 13th Native Infantry were killed, one of the 32nd had his hand carried off by a round-shot, and another European lost his leg. We are very fortunate, considering the nature of the attack, to have suffered so little. The 13th Native Infantry under Aitken behaved splendidly, working the 18-pounder, in the battery they had themselves constructed, most effectively. The great heat intensified our labours and sufferings. A shaft for a mine 8 feet deep was sunk last night in the brigade mess. In the evening they kept up the fire from their batteries, and an 18-lb. shot went right through the hospital, slightly wounding Lieutenant Charlton and a soldier of the 32nd, who were lying there. There was another attack during the night, in which a soldier of the 32nd was wounded.

The 6th of September was another clear and hot day, very exhausting to those who were exposed to the sun's rays. The rain seems to have cleared off for the present. Our live stock is fast diminishing, and our supply of rum and porter is running very low. In my garrison we had for long been without stimulant of any kind. The miasmata from the drying-up ground and trenches and from decaying organic matter are very disagreeable. From Innes's post a sortie was made to-day for the purpose of blowing up a house which the enemy loopholed yesterday. This post has been much dilapidated by the constant heavy fire to which it is exposed. Fulton of the Engineers was contused to-day by falling bricks. At 10 P.M. two men with combustibles crept up near the Bailey-guard gate to set fire to it; one

was shot dead by a sentry in the corner of my garden, the other bolted. Shortly after this the enemy made a smart attack upon this gate, but were quickly driven back. An excellent subahdar of the 13th Native Infantry was killed on this occasion in the 13th Native Infantry battery. This being Sunday, Harris performed service in my house at 5.30 P.M., and Mrs Barwell's baby was christened.

On the 7th of September we had some heavy showers of rain again. Numbers of the enemy's sepoys and matchlock-men were seen moving about with bands playing and colours flying. "God save the Queen" was one of the tunes they selected! Mining and countermining going on vigorously now; natives and Europeans are much knocked up with this work. This is our most serious danger, and our efforts cannot be relaxed. The cannonade to-day has been less active than usual.

On the 8th of September Captain Simons of the Artillery died of his wounds; he has long been suffering. His wife and children had gone to the hills before we were shut in. Schilling is coming over to us for a little change; he has been ill. My invalids are doing as well as can be expected under the circumstances; my wife and boy are still very weak and reduced, but fight it out bravely. A heavy cannonade was kept up throughout the night, and the outer wall of the Martinière garrison has been breached sufficiently to let in four or five men abreast. This has to be retrenched and stockaded as best may be,—work ever increasing as the working power is decreasing! Wilson says that nearly one-half of the officers are on the sick list with fever and dysentery. An idea may be obtained of the fire we have undergone when it is stated that 280 round-shot from 3 lb. to 24 lb. were gathered from the top of the brigade mess alone.

On September 9 our mine at the Cawnpore battery was exploded with 200 lb. of powder with tremendous effect, and it must have destroyed many of the enemy. It brought down all the front of the outhouses opposite the battery.

The enemy's batteries on that side of our garrison opened on us immediately. My big guns kept up a heavy fire on the clock tower (Lutkun darwaza) this morning. A large body of the enemy were seen moving to the right in the evening, but the early part of the night was not much disturbed. There was heavy rain. Again there was no European burial to-day.

On the 10th of September we kept up heavy firing upon the mosque near the clock tower with 18-pounders and also shells. The ordinary musket-fire was going on all day. A large body of men—about 2000 probably—were seen leaving the city in the Cawnpore direction. To-day at a sale a bottle of brandy fetched Rs. 17; 2 lb. of sugar Rs. 20; a single leaf of coarse tobacco is sold for 1 rupee. The officers and civilians present a strange appearance in dresses made up of any coarse cloth or remains of old clothes which they brought in with them, some with nothing but what they had on.

On the 11th of September the enemy were observed to be moving about, and noises of guns being dragged by elephants were heard. Two sides of Innes's house fell in, the result of constant pounding with shot. Our mine in the Sikh Square was exploded successfully; the enemy's miners were heard in the sap, their groans being quite audible. A mine was discovered in the churchyard to-day: a sortie made by Fulton dispersed the working-party, and it was examined and found to run right in a line with the church. It was blown up and entirely destroyed. Lieutenant Sewell with his Enfield shot two of the enemy in the afternoon. At dusk the enemy threw in five hollow iron cylinders filled with a composition similar to that of carcasses, done up in strong canvas. On impact the thing burst and spouted forth flame without further explosion. They must have thrown these out of a mortar, or perhaps out of a hole in the ground. We had heavy rain this day.

There was rather less firing than usual on the 12th, but large bodies of matchlock-men were seen moving about.

A mine from the brigade mess, directed towards the enemy's battery, was begun to-day. An English soldier was killed in the Redan battery from a loophole, and two men were wounded. A party who were removing some piled-up tents from the Residency garden—a sort of neutral ground—captured one of the enemy to-day and brought him in.

On the 13th poor Mrs Boileau's child, who has been so long ill, died; and Captain Mansfield, who had commanded the men of the 32nd in my house, died last night of cholera: the disease is still hanging about. Being Sunday, we had service at 2.30 in my house. Harris is indefatigable, for he has services in four or five different garrisons. Many matchlock-men were seen moving about. A man came in in the evening from the city, but no information could be got out of him: he was regarded as a spy, and placed in irons in the quarter-guard. Vague reports are circulated that our regiments have crossed the Ganges again at Cawnpore, also that the whole of the province of Oudh has turned against us, and that Mân Sing, a very powerful chief about whom much interest has been felt, is amongst our enemies.

On the 14th of September there was much movement of troops and matchlock-men in the city, and there was the usual amount of firing. A very sad misfortune befell the garrison to-day. Captain Fulton of the Engineers, whilst examining a battery in Gubbins's post, was struck by a round-shot in the head and killed on the spot. He had conducted all the engineering operations of the siege for a considerable time previous to the death of his chief, Major Anderson, since when he had been supreme. He was a most able, brave, and energetic officer, and was the heart and soul of the contest that had been waged against such fearful odds. I was going into Gubbins's garrison when I met two men carrying a litter with the too familiar object covered with a blood-stained cloth. On turning down the corner of the cloth I saw the face of my poor friend; the back of his head had been carried away. The blow was

scarcely less severe than that inflicted by Sir Henry Lawrence's death. His wife and six children were at Simla.

On the 15th of September Lieutenant Fullerton, when in the delirium of fever, walked out of an upper window, got over the parapet, and was killed by the fall. His wife and children are at Ommanney's house, and one of the children died about the same time. When Harris was in the hospital to-day a round-shot went clean through it, about 2 feet above the men's heads, alarming the invalids terribly but hurting none. One man of the 32nd was killed to-day in the Residency compound and another wounded. What remained of the veranda of the Residency, battered with shot and shell, fell in with a crash. We exploded three of the enemy's mines in the vicinity of the Sikh Square. Bonham's "ship" was brought to bear on the 18-pounder near Innes's house, and one shell blew away their parapet and a few more shot shut them up for that day. At the Bailey-guard gate a shaft was begun by the sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry to run a sap out in the direction of the Lutkun darwaza, to keep off any mine the enemy may be running in that direction. At daylight of the 16th the enemy began, and for three hours maintained a heavy cannonade. An 8-inch shell falling into the 13th Native Infantry battery, killed a sepoy and wounded a subahdar. Dr Brydon, who was in Gubbins's garrison, says the siege of Jellalabad was a trifle compared to what we are undergoing here! Four round-shot came through Germon's post to-day, and there was the usual musket-fire. The enemy are making a new battery to the right of our Cawnpore battery, but they were so hard pressed with shell that they could not make much progress: they were also digging trenches in front of the Redan battery. The stench to-day was so bad that the ladies could not sit in the portico. A message written in Greek character on thin paper and enclosed in a quill was sent out by Ungud for General Havelock. He was promised a large reward if he brought

a reply. The enemy were moving about with much bugling to-day, and one of their shells burst in the garrison to-night. We are working hard at our mines.

On September 17 the 32nd sentry at the churchyard had his head carried off by a round-shot. The enemy made a demonstration at Saunders's post with heavy volleys of musketry, but a few shells dispersed them. When the mortar howitzer was being fired from the brigade mess, one of the shells burst so near our own people that two men were wounded. An 8-inch shell exploded in the lane not 20 yards from my house: the ladies all rushed from the portico, where they were sitting, but no one was hurt. Our provisions, beef especially, are running very short. There are several cases of fever and dysentery, and two sepoys died of their wounds in hospital.

On the 18th of September a partial eclipse of the sun took place, which no doubt was regarded as ominous by the natives. The usual cannonade and musketry-fire went on during the day. At 11 P.M. much bugling and shouting were heard in the town. The enemy threw a log of wood in, 18 inches long and 12 inches in diameter; it must have come out of a 13-inch mortar. It made a terrific noise as it came. A bullet to-day struck a picture on the wall and knocked off one end of the frame without breaking the glass; most of my pictures have been smashed. The enemy made a feeble attack in the night, but was easily repulsed. A look-out is kept from the tower of the Residency, which commands a view of the bridge, the river, and the country round; also from the top of the Post Office, from which great part of the city and the Cawnpore road could be seen. Note is taken of the movements of the enemy, anything new being immediately reported to the brigadier. A second mortar howitzer ("ship") has been fitted up after the fashion of that recently constructed by Bonham, which has been found very effective.

On September 19 an auction of dead officers' clothing was held at the Residency. A new flannel shirt fetched Rs. 40,

five old ones Rs. 112, a bottle of brandy Rs. 12. The enemy threw in six pieces of wood each about the size of a small barrel: they were thrown to a great height in the air, perhaps from a hole in the earth, and came down with considerable violence. The enemy kept up a heavy fire on us all round, especially at the Residency, which is wofully dilapidated by the round-shot which has been poured steadily into it since the siege began. A shot of ours set one of their batteries on fire. Mrs Germon was ill to-day, but all the ladies and the children are sick, though they bear up bravely and do all they can to keep up their courage and to help each other. But there is less severe sickness than there has been, and it is wonderful, considering all things, how free the garrison is from epidemic disease. Cholera, smallpox, dysentery, fever have all appeared and threatened to prevail; but in spite of the presence of everything that seemed likely to foster them, they have not gained ground, and at present the garrison is comparatively free from them. A poor woman, the wife of a writer, was shot through the lungs to-day, while sitting with her children about her.

At daylight of the 20th of September it was discovered that two new batteries had been nearly completed, and we fired at them with the 18-pounder and 9-pounder, but they were so strongly constructed that we did but little mischief. The Cawnpore battery has been repaired, and mining operations are going on there. The floor of Anderson's house was excavated so as to keep the men clear of the round-shot which were passing through it. A 32nd man was killed by a round-shot to-day at Innes's post. Being Sunday, there was service with the sacrament at 2.30 in my house.

On the 21st there was heavy rain. One of the Post Office guns (18 lb.) exposed the enemy's 32-lb. gun in their new battery. At the same time our sharpshooters killed some of the gunners. The Martinière post had part of its wall battered down. A *bhistie* was killed and fell into the well; the body was got out to prevent the water from being

polluted. On one occasion a bullock fell into my well and was got out with great difficulty, under fire.

On the 22nd of September the heavy rain continued and caused much discomfort, as everything is so leaky now, and the roofs are all injured—nothing is watertight. Lieutenant Cunliffe, R.A., who was wounded some time ago, died to-day of fever. He was engaged to one of Mr Ommanney's daughters. His brother, a civilian, who was engaged to the other sister, had been killed in the district before the siege began. Part of the brigade mess wall fell to-day, undermined by the wet and damaged by shot. In the evening we dismounted one of the 9-pounders with a shell, killing some of their men at the gun. At 11 P.M. Ungud returned to the garrison bringing a letter from Outram dated 20th of September, telling us that a force had crossed the Ganges on the 19th and was advancing to our relief. The letter advised us not to leave the defences as they approached, and only to attempt to assist them in such a way as we could with safety. This news did good to all by raising our spirits and inspiring hope, which had at this time sunk very low. The news was brought to my house by Colonel Palmer late that night, about 1 A.M. of the 23rd.

On the 23rd the rain ceased early in the morning, and we heard a sharp cannonade going on in the Cawnpore direction which caused intense excitement owing to the probability of its being the relieving force. Large bodies of men were discerned moving about with guns and ammunition-waggons in the city, and in the afternoon they placed a gun in position facing down the Khas Bazar. We threw many shells into the city at the parties of men moving about. Heavy rain fell again in the evening.

The night of the 23rd was very quiet, but in the morning of the 24th some round-shot came in. We have had no further news, and do not know the significance of what occurred yesterday; the anxiety of all is great. Ensign Hewitt of the 41st Native Infantry was wounded to-day. At 8 P.M. the enemy made an attack upon the Cawnpore

battery, keeping up a heavy fire for about half an hour, but were repulsed. During the day infantry and cavalry were seen moving about in the city. In the evening distant cannonading was again heard in the Cawnpore direction, and as the night came on the flashes which were then seen from the look-out appeared about seven or eight miles distant. This must be the long-looked-for relief! They have a tremendous force to meet and fight their way through before they can get at us. During the night the enemy made two attacks upon us, but were repulsed.

On the 25th of September fresh attacks were made upon us, and a disturbance was evidently going on in the city on Gubbins's side. Poor Captain Radcliffe of the 7th Light Cavalry was dangerously wounded whilst in command of the Cawnpore battery. He organised the Volunteer Cavalry which did such good service at Chinhut, and has been a most distinguished member of the garrison ever since. How sad to be mortally wounded just as the relief is at hand! At about 10 A.M. a sepoy entered Gubbins's post, passing the sentry, who was about to fire, when he produced a letter and was recognised as a messenger from our friends. The letter was written on the 16th, so that it was older than the one Ungud brought. He went out again soon, taking Inglis's reply. He could tell us nothing except that our troops had reached the outskirts of the city. From the top of the Residency we had seen the flashes of the friendly guns in the direction of the Char Bagh, and the sound of firing had become distinctly audible. At about 11 A.M. this had ceased, but there was much excitement and movement in the city, and two large fires were observed there. At about 1.30 P.M. many of the city people were seen to be leaving the town, carrying bundles and crossing the bridge towards the cantonments: numbers of armed men, infantry and cavalry, followed. We kept up a heavy fire on them. Notwithstanding the evident panic, a steady cannonade and musketry-fire were maintained upon our position. At 4 P.M. it was reported that Europeans could be seen near Mr

Martin's house and about the Moti Mahal, and a continuous heavy musketry-fire, coming nearer and nearer, was heard. We could not see our friends, hidden as they were amongst the streets, but we could see that the enemy were firing upon them from the roofs of the houses and from places of vantage. Very soon the Europeans could be seen fighting their way through one of the principal streets, men falling rapidly, when, as Wilson says, "once fairly seen, all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended, and then the garrison's long-pent-up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers from every pit, trench, and battery; from behind the sandbags piled on shattered houses, from every post still held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer on cheer. Even from the hospital many of the wounded crawled forth to join in the glad shout of welcome of those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten."

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST AND SECOND RELIEFS, AND JOURNEY TO CALCUTTA.

First relief—Siege continues—Losses of relief force—Outram and Napier in my house, Havelock in Ommanney's — Outram assumes supreme command—Our sphere of operations extended—Question of fighting our way out considered, but negatived—Siege as close as before—Sorties made—Considerable losses—Fierce attack on Fureed Bux repulsed with great loss to enemy — News of capture of Delhi — Attacked with fever — Delafosse relates his escape from Cawnpore — News from Cawnpore of reinforcements accompanied by Commander-in-Chief— Rations reduced — General health of garrison improving with cooler weather—Firing heard in the direction of Alum Bagh—Letters from Cawnpore — Attitude of Rajah Mân Sing — Kavanagh takes out a message to Commander-in-Chief at Alum Bagh — Sir Colin Campbell arrives at Alum Bagh — Colonel Campbell dies of wounds — Troops advance from Alum Bagh to our relief—Heavy guns of relieving force heard—Communication established with relieving force—Relief effected —Ladies and sick and wounded move to Dil Khusha — March for Bunny—Wyndham in difficulty — Forced march to Cawnpore — Heavy fighting at Cawnpore—In camp at Cawnpore for a few days—Visit ruins of Wheeler's intrenchment — March to Allahabad — My second child born and died at Allahabad — Ordered to England by Medical Board—Proceed to Calcutta by steamer—Embark for England—Losses in Lucknow—Mention in despatches and thanks of Government.

It was at five in the evening on Friday the 25th of September that the European soldiers entered at our side. I was not in the house at the time, but returning, found it filled with officers and soldiers all showing the results of hard fighting. Dear old Outram, with him Colonel R. Napier as chief of

his staff, Sitwell and Chamier, his A.D.C.'s, and W. Money, C.S., his private secretary, all entered by the Bailey-guard into my house. It may be imagined how delighted we all were to see them, and how we could hardly realise the fact that we were with those who had come from outside. We felt as if it were all over now, though we knew, too, that this could not be the case, and very shortly realised that by finding ourselves as closely besieged as before. Anxious inquiries were made about old friends, and sad news came to many. We heard of the death of my wife's brother, Lieutenant Henry Spens, killed at Saugor. Mrs Boileau was delighted by the news that her husband was safe at Benares. We heard of the death of many friends and of the safety of others. Outram and Napier both came in wounded: Outram had been shot through the arm and Napier through the leg. I dressed their wounds and made them as comfortable as possible. We had very little to offer them, but we did all we could. The enemy were still keeping up a heavy fire upon us, as if in defiance. In the afternoon an 8-inch shell burst in the house, the pieces flying in all directions, some of them in my wife's room, but fortunately no one was hurt. We were reinforced, but not relieved in the sense that we had hoped to be.

The relief force consisted of parts of the 78th and 90th Highlanders, of the 84th and 64th Foot and 6th Fusiliers, the Madras Fusiliers and the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, with 200 Volunteer Cavalry. During their progress through the city they were most strenuously opposed both by artillery, and by musketry fired from every house and place of vantage: the loss of life was great.

As I have said, I was not in the house when they came in, so quote from Mrs Harris's description of their entry: "We had no idea they were so near, and were breathing the air in the portico as usual at that hour, 5 P.M., speculating where they might be now, when suddenly, just at dusk, we heard a very sharp fire of musketry close by, and then a tremendous cheering; an instant after, the sound of the bagpipes, then

SIR JAMES OUTRAM.

of soldiers running up the road. Our compound and veranda filled with our deliverers, and all of us shaking hands frantically and exchanging fervent 'God bless yous!' with the gallant men and officers of the 78th Highlanders. Sir J. Outram and staff were the next to come in, and the state of joyful confusion and excitement was beyond all description. The big, rough, bearded soldiers were seizing the little children out of our arms, kissing them with tears running down their cheeks, and thanking God that they had come in time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore. We were all rushing about to give the poor fellows drinks of water, for they were all perfectly exhausted, and tea was made down in the *tyekhana*, of which a large party of officers partook without milk or sugar, but we had nothing to give them to eat. Every one's tongue seemed going at once with so much to ask and to tell, and the faces of strangers beamed on each other like those of dear friends and brothers." It certainly was an interesting and spirit-stirring scene! The losses sustained by the relief force amounted to 535 killed, wounded, and missing. General Neill and Colonel Bazeley of the Artillery were killed. The 78th had lost 2 officers killed and 6 wounded, 43 men killed or missing and 75 wounded—a total of 126, a fearful loss to a single regiment. The total losses were: Officers killed 10, wounded 30; men killed 109, wounded 309, missing 77—making a total of 535 out of a force of 3179 men who left Cawnpore on the 19th of September. Much the greater proportion of this loss occurred in traversing the city to enter the Residency. This brings me to the conclusion of the second period, or that of the siege and defence properly so-called, being eighty-seven days of close siege with no aid from outside, and no communication but such as we received through Ungud, the faithful and daring pensioner, and one or two others.

The following brief account of our strength and losses during the siege is taken from various reports and diaries. On the 1st of July, the day we were shut in, the number of people in the Lucknow Residency was, according to

Innes,[1] 3000, consisting of Europeans and Eurasians 1608, natives 1392. Of these the European men numbered 1008 and the native troops 712; there were 600 European and Eurasian women, children, and boys, and 680 non-combatant natives. As to the deaths that occurred during the siege the accounts vary, but, according to Gubbins, there were 350 European men killed or died, 133 natives killed or died and 230 deserted, leaving on September 25, 577 European and 402 native men; 15 European and Eurasian women and 54 children died or were killed.

I now begin an account of the third period—that is, after the Lucknow garrison was reinforced by Outram and Havelock on the 25th September. Outram had declined to assume command, as he did not wish to deprive Havelock of the honour of effecting the relief, the commencement of which he had already made when Outram joined in superior command, but expressed his desire to serve as a volunteer until Lucknow should be relieved. Accordingly he accompanied the Volunteer Cavalry and was in the thick of every fight, using no weapon but a walking-stick to defend himself. He was one of the first to enter the beleaguered garrison, and when he got into my house he had lost his forage-cap and had received a bullet through the upper part of the arm. It was said as the Highlanders approached the Bailey-guard gate that they took Aitken's men of the 13th for the enemy, and charged and bayoneted some of them. The mistake was soon detected, and their comrades took no umbrage, as they saw it was a mistake, likely enough to happen, for no one could have expected to find sepoys in such a place, which was only separated from the enemy by a road and the *débris* of some walls, unless indeed they were part of the force opposing us. The relief force was very much surprised to find the weak character of the defences which had protected us for so long.

As I have said before, Outram and Napier came to my

[1] Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny. By Lt.-Gen. M'Leod Innes, R.E., V.C.

house and remained there. Outram took up his quarters in the long room. A bullet had passed through the fleshy part of his arm just below the shoulder without injuring any vessel of importance or the bone. The next morning I met him wandering about with his coat in his hand, when he said, "Do you think Mrs Fayrer or one of the ladies could mend this for me?" He referred to the two bullet-holes. My wife mended it, and I provided him with a uniform cap with a gold-banded peak which just fitted him, so he was set up again in this respect. His horse, a stout English cob, had been led in when he dismounted at the gate. Napier was also wounded, in the leg, and I bandaged him up and put them both on charpoys in the long room, where they lay and talked to each other and gave their instructions. I heard Outram say to some of the numerous visitors when they inquired, "How is the arm, general?" "Oh, damn the arm!" We had nothing to give them but commissariat rations, nor would they hear of anything being sent to them from elsewhere, and all our stores had long been expended. Something was sent to him one day beyond the ordinary ration; he was very angry, and refused to have it. Dear old fellow! He was indeed *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*. The soldiers of the relief force voted him the V.C., and nothing would have pleased him more than to have it, but some wretched red-tapism prevented him from getting it because he was so high in command. Note that he had, purposely, to serve Havelock, and because in his generosity he thought Havelock was more entitled to it, laid down his command, and had acted as a volunteer where he might have been supreme, and this was all the thanks he got for it! I don't know what he thought about it, but I know what we all thought of it!

All the heavy baggage of the relief force, with 500 men, had been left at the Alum Bagh, so that they brought nothing in with them in the way of stores or provisions except their artillery cattle, and, as will appear, they were enclosed with us, and the siege went on much as before,

except that our position was extended, and that we had the moral as well as the physical support of the new arrivals, and were able to make sorties. We now knew that the British power was gradually being reasserted throughout India, and we had every confidence that further aid would ere long set us free.

On September 26 Sir James Outram had assumed the supreme command, and had taken up his quarters with his staff in my house. General Havelock and his staff took up their abode in Ommanney's house. Early in the morning General Havelock, having inspected the new ground that we now included in the sphere of our operations, came to report on its nature and extent to Outram. The enemy's position had been moved back several hundred yards, and relieved us from the proximity of their musketry as well as several of their heavy guns,—in the clock-tower gate, for example, and the palaces which were now included in our area, the Bailey-guard gate becoming rather a central than an advanced post. The buildings above referred to enabled us to provide shelter for the men and to improve our sanitary arrangements. But now arose the problem of feeding the fresh mouths added to our garrison. We had been able to establish some connection with the outer world and had got in a few supplies, but our present want was still food. By this time many of our old garrison, and I for one, had become quite scorbutic, the least injury causing ecchymosis. One officer came to me horrified to find that his legs had turned quite blue after jumping from a low wall, and, of course, the weakness and constitutional depression attending this were serious.

There was considerable confusion after the entry of the relief, and the question was discussed as to whether we were to attempt to fight our way out or to remain, making sorties for food and holding on until further relief should come. After one of these discussions Outram told me that it had been decided we were to attempt to force our way out, and that he was determined my wife should ride his

horse and he himself would walk! Happily this idea was abandoned, for there could have been but one result, had it been attempted! We have a great many sick and wounded: Harris had nineteen funerals on the evening of the 26th. On this date Brigadier Inglis addressed a despatch to General Outram giving a detailed account of the defence up to date: it was admirably written, and was an excellent summary of the eighty-seven days. In it the services performed by various members of the garrison were mentioned, including the medical department; but, like other despatches, it had omissions which would hardly have been expected.

A remarkable incident occurred on this date. Three prisoners were brought in and were under investigation, when a shell burst in the room and killed all three. A force was sent out to bring in the guns left outside the defences last night. Considerable fighting took place; Colonel Cooper, R.A., Captain Crump, R.A., and others were killed, and Mr Thornhill, C.S., who went out as a guide to help to bring in the wounded who had been left outside, was seriously wounded and subsequently died: the guns, however, were brought in. A few of the wounded were brought in, but some unfortunately were killed.

On the 27th of September a sortie was made to take some guns, but it failed, though three were spiked: we suffered some loss. We were surrounded by a numerous and implacable enemy, but the relief saved us from one great danger, that of mining. Since they came in we have found three mines: one of them must have injured my house, another was found at the treasury, and another at the Redan, which would have blown it into the air. Being Sunday, divine service was performed in my house and Mrs Dashwood's baby was christened. Harris had twenty-five funerals this evening.

On September 28 the siege was as close as ever. This being the Hindu festival of the Dusserah, we thought probably a fresh attack would be made, but the day passed

off without anything remarkable. The bridges are seen to be crowded with men. A messenger came in from the Alum Bagh and brought news of the final assault on Delhi, of Nicholson's death and great loss of life; it was expected that the city would fall in a day or two. All was well at the Alum Bagh. Councils amongst generals and their staffs were going on at my house to-day. I hear the details from Outram.

On the 29th of September a sortie in force was made early in the morning with about 800 men, into the city. They blew up several houses and captured, I believe, nine guns, spiking some and bringing others in. They killed many of the enemy, and we had thirty killed and wounded. A 'Home News' of the 30th of August reached us to-day—all eager to devour it. We heard that 20,000 troops were on their way out from England. A piece of shell passed through my wife's room to-day but did not hurt any one.

The ladies were as busy as usual on the 30th of September with household work, making and mending clothes, &c. Many objects are being offered for sale that have been looted out of the palaces. Another letter came from the Alum Bagh saying that all is well there. Havelock is in and out of my house constantly. It is very difficult to decide what it is best to do. We are as closely besieged as ever, and the food question is a formidable one. In the evening we tried to send some cavalry to the Alum Bagh, but they had to return, the fire upon them was so heavy.

On October 1 two parties made sorties to take the guns on the Cawnpore side, and were very successful. The Sikhs took possession of a bazaar, and a soldier of the Madras Fusiliers was discovered in a well, where he had been concealed since the relief came in; he was nearly starved. The ladies are able to move about a little from garrison to garrison now, and so to get fresh air and interchange visits with each other. Mrs Ouseley's two children died to-day.

On October 2 all was going on much as usual in my

house. Both Outram's and Napier's wounds were doing well. They have the same scant fare as ourselves.

On October 3 Mr Lucas, a traveller who had acted as a volunteer and done excellent service, was mortally wounded when taking one of the enemy's guns in a sortie. We continue to make attacks and sorties, and are gaining ground in the city. We have taken and spiked several of their guns with comparatively little loss of life.

October 4 being Sunday, service and communion were largely attended at the brigade mess and in my house at 3 P.M. Mrs Germon went to see the post that had been so gallantly defended by her husband, and was astonished to find how completely it had been riddled by shot and shell. The firing goes on just as usual, only from a greater distance.

On the 5th of October there was heavy rain. The usual routine fire, but nothing special to report.

The enemy made a fierce attack on October 6 on the Fureed Bux, one of our new posts, but were repulsed with great loss; our loss was ten killed and wounded. We have withdrawn our troops from an extended position which had been taken up on the Cawnpore road outside the Cawnpore battery.

On October 7 a 24-lb. shot came in through one of our windows, but was too much spent to penetrate the opposite wall. We generally get two or three round-shot striking the house daily, but they come from greater distances now. Outram received a despatch from the Alum Bagh saying that a convoy of commissariat stores escorted by 240 men and two guns had arrived there from Cawnpore. It reports that the bridge of Bunny is said to be broken down, but the river is fordable. Our rations are now reduced to starvation fare, and we are all very hungry. Outram has issued an order in praise of the "more than illustrious garrison of Lucknow."

On October 8 Mrs Germon and some of the other ladies were occupied in receiving rations, attah, rice, salt, &c., and

seeing them weighed. We blew up a house with a mine to-day and destroyed a considerable number of the enemy. Lieut. Green of the 13th Native Infantry died to-day of dysentery.

On the 9th of October a letter was received from Cawnpore telling us that Delhi had been completely taken, that several regiments of sepoys with a number of guns had escaped and were making their way in our direction. A large force had followed in pursuit of them. Harris contrived to pick up a Madras boy to-day who came in with the relief.

On October 10 a good report came from the Alum Bagh, where they have about 700 men and nine guns; a foraging party had brought them in provisions. It was reported from Delhi that the king and his family are in our hands, and that our loss was 62 officers and 1300 men, and 3000 in hospital. Another letter from Cawnpore on the 11th of October tells us that the Delhi column have fallen in with the Jhansi mutineers, killed 150 and dispersed the rest, at Bolundshar or Alyghur. Two attacks were made upon our position during the night. This being Sunday, there was service and communion at the brigade mess, in my house, and at the Begum Koti. We have less than 6 lb. of rice in my house for all our party for three days. The weather is now getting cooler and the children are better. My wife and Bob are picking up and are stronger, but I was laid up with an attack of fever at this time. Poor Thornhill, who was severely wounded and whose arm I amputated, died of exhaustion and blood-poisoning on October 12. Some effects of Lieutenant Green were sold to-day. A box of 200 cheroots fetched Rs. 500; a bottle of sherry was given in exchange for a cake of soap.

On the 13th of October I was laid up, very weak from fever. This day the enemy made an attack upon the 78th picket, and there had been a good deal of firing during the night.

On October 14 a letter from the Alum Bagh tells us that

the servants there are deserting, not being able to get sufficient food. A Sikh who had deserted at the beginning of the siege came in and said that he and the other Sikhs were anxious to return; they were told to occupy a house outside the intrenchments. As Harris returned from the graveyard to-day a native close to him had his leg carried off by a round-shot. We had nothing for breakfast to-day but chupattees and dâl. An old worn flannel shirt—poor Fulton's—was sold to-day for Rs. 45. I am still laid up with fever, and there is no food I can eat. All officers were ordered to remain at their posts and on the alert: the Dewalli, another festival, is going on, and it is rumoured that the enemy contemplate a great attack, but the Sikhs who came in say that the enemy are going to try and starve us out. Harris told us that he had heard the sad fate of his friends, Mr and Mrs Moncrieff, at Cawnpore; they were killed clinging to each other. Stock has been taken of the provisions in the garrison, and it is reported that at the present rate of expenditure we have enough to last until the 25th of November, but it is starvation diet.

On October 16 Delafosse, who escaped in the most marvellous way from Cawnpore, came to see us, and gave a graphic description of his adventures. Out of 900 Europeans in the Cawnpore intrenchment, 400 of whom were women and 200 children, only four people escaped—Lieutenants Delafosse, Mowbray Thompson, and two soldiers, one of whom has since died of cholera. Three boats got away down the stream, but they were sunk by cannon-shot from 9-pounders which followed them along the bank, before they had gone a mile. The four men, after marvellous adventures, escaped by swimming, and found shelter with a friendly rajah, who protected them until they heard of Havelock's advance, when they joined him.

On October 17 we had fresh accounts from Cawnpore of reinforcements, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell. They can't be here as soon as they expected, and then they won't get at us without hard fighting.

There was a slight attack last night; but the firing is not now so near my garrison, though it is going on constantly all round us. Our rations now are—for a man, 12 ounces of meat, for a woman, 6 ounces, and a child, 2 ounces; including bone, which is usually one-half the amount. Out of one issue of 9 lb., 5 lb. were bone. We have besides 15 lb. of unsifted flour, 6 lb. of gram, 1 lb. 12 ounces of rice, and a little salt; this is the allowance for one day for our whole party. We stew the meat and rice and eat it with chupattees. Our beverage is water. We have still a little tea left, but no sugar, milk, wine, or spirits. A number of horses were destroyed yesterday at the riverside to save the gram they would eat. Mrs Dashwood and her baby went over to the Ommanneys to stay with poor Mrs Ouseley; her boy was left here in charge of Mrs Harris.

On the 18th, Sunday, I mended our fare a little. A large flight of sparrows lighted on the remains of a clump of bamboos in my compound. I loaded my gun with No. 6 shot, and with four barrels got a large bag (150). I was very weak, but was just able to do this. They made an excellent addition to our dinner to-day. At night we had a heavy attack on the Cawnpore battery, Gubbins's, and the brigade mess; the noise of the firing was terrific. I have no note of our losses on this occasion, but my impression is that they were not numerous. Harris's new Madras servant is very useful in helping the ladies about the food. The Barwells have also found a khitmutgar who is very useful. Our *bhistie* has been a most faithful servant, very hard-working, and in constant danger of being shot in fetching water from the well.

On the 19th October I have noted that the health of the garrison was good, considering all things. The heat and damp are both diminished. Last night a messenger from the Alum Bagh brought us a copy of the 'Home News' of August 25; great interest expressed in it about us all. Troops are coming out overland to our assistance, and the prospects seem more cheering. The enemy made another

attack and kept up a heavy fire for some time last night. The Delhi column is said to be within five miles of Cawnpore, fighting with the Gwalior mutineers. There was a report prevailing on October 20 that the enemy were contemplating an attack in the evening; we were all prepared, but nothing special occurred. I am gradually regaining strength, but no doubt a scorbutic taint is present in my case and that of many others.

On the 21st October a boy of the 32nd was killed by a round-shot at the hospital, a man of the 78th Highlanders at the Residency tower, and three natives in Gubbins's compound. Two mines were sprung by the enemy to-day, but they did little harm. Heavy firing was heard this morning in the direction of the Alum Bagh; firing goes on all round our position as usual. Both the generals, Outram and Napier, are doing well. Outram is constantly about; he is utterly indifferent to fire; I have been about with him in many places where it was hot, but he takes not the slightest notice of it. I observe that others who have been under heavy fire, and are as brave as men need be, yet cannot help ducking as the shot fly over them. By this sign we think we can differentiate a new-comer from an old member of the garrison. We are now in communication with the Rajah Mân Sing, who at the best is trimming: he has been desired to send a wakil to receive whatever communication may be made to him.

On October 22 heavy distant firing in the direction of the Alum Bagh was heard, perhaps farther off, but no fresh news yet of the expected second relief. Mân Sing's wakil has not arrived.

On the 23rd October Mrs Harris had a narrow escape: a bullet went through the leg of the chair on which she was sitting, glanced upwards, and hit her in the side, but being spent, did not hurt her much. At 3 A.M. a messenger brought a letter. He said that the enemy had captured some of our elephants at the Alum Bagh. I wonder if my Luchmi is among them!

On the 24th of October there were rumours, no one could say how they arose, that our troops have beaten the enemy again at Bithoor, the Nana's place, and that two European regiments have arrived at the Alum Bagh. Mrs Germon went over to see her husband at the financial garrison, when a 24-lb. shot came in just as she got there, but she was not hurt.

October 25 being Sunday, service was held at the brigade mess and in my house. Outram to-day had a letter from Mân Sing. It is a month since the relief came, and here we are almost as closely besieged as ever! A native has come in who reports that the Madras column is near the Alum Bagh.

On the 26th of October letters were received from Cawnpore. The rebels have been beaten at Agra, their guns and ammunition taken, and many of them killed, whilst our loss was very small. The Delhi column under Hope Grant was to reach Cawnpore on the 1st of November. About 6000 men will then be assembled there, and we may look for relief about the 15th. Our rations are again reduced, no gram or dâl for any one; 14 ounces of wheat and a little rice is all we are allowed besides meat. Supplies in great quantities, we hear, have reached the Alum Bagh.

On the 27th October an old friend of mine, Graydon, was mortally wounded at the new battery behind Innes's house; Dr Darby was also wounded in the head with a piece of shell: both died. Mân Sing's wakil came in and had a conference with Outram's private secretary, but we did not hear what transpired. Orr has heard that his brother with his wife, Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his sister, with others from Seetapore, are prisoners in the Kaiser Bagh.

On the 28th of October we heard that another letter was received from Cawnpore last night telling of the arrival there of the Delhi column, and of the fights they had had near Mynpoorie and Cawnpore. This day passed comparatively quietly. C. Dashwood managed to get a small letter conveyed in a quill sent out to his friends at home.

On the 29th of October there was nothing particular to report and the day was quiet.

On the 30th October an 18-lb. shot came into my house again, through the ladies' room, sending everything flying but hurting no one. When Mrs Germon was in her husband's garrison to-day a round-shot came in and wounded a man.

October 31 and November 1 were comparatively quiet days, the ladies in my house employed in the usual way; but on November 2 the enemy kept up a heavy fire on us, and one officer was mortally wounded at the Fureed Bux. Several shells came into our position to-day. A letter was received from Cawnpore which says the Commander-in-Chief was expected there on the 2nd.

On November 3, after a heavy fire all night, an attack in force was expected, so every one had to remain at his post, but it did not take place. The semaphore at the top of the Residency was arranged, to telegraph to the Alum Bagh.

On November 4 the enemy sent in a number of shell and round-shot. Poor C. Dashwood, while sketching the Residency, had both his legs carried off by a round-shot. We had an attack during the night, but it was repulsed.

The 5th of November was a moderately quiet day, but there was no news of the relief.

On the 6th of November we heard that by the 10th at latest 6000 men would arrive at the Alum Bagh. The weather was now becoming quite cold, which tended to diminish our discomfort.

On November 7 another 24-lb. shot came into my house, and Captain Chamier, A.D.C., had a very narrow escape. Poor young Dashwood had both legs amputated below the knee, and is doing better than could have been expected. Mrs Dashwood is looking ill and worn with this fresh sorrow and anxiety.

It was reported on the 8th of November that Mân Sing has moved off with his men to Chinhut. He is trimming

and watching events, and has been a great source of anxiety, for his influence would be powerful on whichever side it was exerted. This being Sunday, service was held as usual.

Poor Dashwood was not doing so well on the 9th, but indeed all our amputation cases have done badly — no wonder, considering the circumstances under which they have occurred! The experience in the banqueting-hall hospital has been very significant of the evil results of the unfavourable sanitary conditions which prevailed, and the medical officers, Dr Scott, Dr Boyd, and Dr Bird, who performed the most unwearied and devoted services there, must have been much distressed at the futility of their efforts to save life. Drs Greenhow and Hadow, who had been actively employed throughout the siege, have had similar experiences; indeed it was the experience of the medical officers throughout the whole garrison. The enemy have laid a 9-lb. gun directly for the front of my house to-day, and two Europeans have been mortally wounded close to my gate. The compound and veranda are again so unsafe that the ladies were unable to go out. On this day a most dangerous and daring enterprise was undertaken by Mr Kavanagh, a senior clerk in the office of Sir G. Couper, who had himself done most excellent service throughout the siege. Having disguised himself as a native, and being accompanied by a native called Kanoujia Lal, he went out of the garrison, found his way through the city, and ultimately reached the relief force at the Alum Bagh. The story has been told by himself in a most interesting little volume, in which he describes how he sped, the risks which he ran, and how he at length delivered his despatches into Sir Colin Campbell's hands. For this signal service he ultimately received the V.C., which probably was never more deservedly bestowed. He remained with the relief force until they entered the city, when he rendered further important services in conducting them through the city to the Residency. Heavy

distant firing was heard early on the morning of the 10th. A semaphore from the Alum Bagh signalled Kavanagh's safe arrival. Poor Mrs Kavanagh, who is in the Residency, must have been much relieved when she was assured of this. A blazing tar-barrel on the top of the Residency, responded to by a blue-light from the Alum Bagh, had informed us that the reinforcements from Cawnpore had arrived there. No other news from the Alum Bagh to-day; the semaphore is hardly in complete working order yet. The day was tolerably quiet; the enemy must know that fresh forces are coming to our relief.

There was a good deal of firing on the morning of the 12th, and all were on the alert for news of the reinforcement. The semaphore is now in working order. Sir Colin Campbell has arrived at the Alum Bagh, and intends advancing to us in force on Saturday. The enemy made an attack on the Alum Bagh this morning, but were repulsed. Our meat was somehow stolen to-day, so we had no food except rice and dâl, and a little honey which Captain Weston managed to pick up. Poor Colonel Campbell died to-day after amputation of the leg; C. Dashwood is sinking, and poor Mrs Ouseley is dangerously ill. The enemy exploded a mine and kept up a heavy fire to-day for a short time, but it soon subsided and no great harm was done. Harris had another narrow escape from a round-shot which plunged into a wall just above his head. The enemy are evidently diverted from us by what is coming, but all are required to remain at their posts.

A messenger from the Alum Bagh arrived on the 13th, but he had lost his despatches, and was placed in the guard-room. The ladies are already contemplating a move, and are beginning to pack their portable valuables into the smallest possible space.

On the 14th of November the troops advanced from the Alum Bagh and took possession of the Dil Khusha and Martinière after considerable fighting. In the morning we could see the British flag on the Martinière, and later a blue

light from the same place. We had the union-jack flying on the Residency now as throughout the siege. Everybody was much excited and devoured with anxiety as to the progress of events. Mrs Ouseley, a sister of Miss Palmer who was killed, died to-day, and, as already mentioned, her two children died a few days ago. Poor Ouseley! The ladies, having a feeling of less insecurity, are able to equip themselves for the night more as in ordinary times.

Nothing very special occurred on the 15th of November, and comparatively little firing was heard. The Commander-in-Chief seems to have halted for the present at the Dil Khusha and Martinière. I went with Outram and his staff to visit the Fureed Bux posts; nothing particular had been done. The enemy are still keeping up a fire on us much as usual. An ayah who had been picked up lately by one of the ladies was shot in the eye to-day in my garden. Another shell burst in the Residency. We are getting very worn out and weary of it all.

On the morning of the 16th the relief force moved early, and we heard the fire of their heavy guns distinctly. From the roof of the house we could see a good deal, and it was curious to feel that it was for us they were fighting! I could see distinctly in the distance cavalry, infantry, and artillery. We saw some of our mines explode at the Chutter Munzil, and several shells burst in the air. Rockets were being freely used, and some buildings were seen in flames. By the evening the relief force had got up to the Moti Mahal, so that they were now very near us. Some of our people made a sortie and stormed one of the enemy's positions.

On the 17th November communication was established between ourselves and the relief force. The Commander-in-Chief has taken up his quarters in the Tera Walla Koti, it having been assaulted and captured this morning. Our relief was now effected. It was not long before Outram told me that the ladies, women, and children were to vacate the Residency on the following day, the 18th. This caused considerable excitement. Of course, all we possess will be

left behind except the few things which can be carried in our hands, and it was, notwithstanding the joy of being relieved, with a feeling of sadness that we contemplated the idea of leaving the place that we had defended so long. To me it was leaving my house and all my worldly possessions—house, property, appointment, all gone; but I thanked God that my wife and child were preserved where so many had lost their dear ones. I commenced making such arrangements as were possible under the circumstances, and got together the most valuable of our portable things to take with us. I knew the amount must be small, as who was to carry anything bulky? I collected my papers and put together the most important—all the rest I burned. A few small books, some of my wife's trinkets, valuables, and clothing, we packed up; all else was to be left standing. Needless to say that the furniture, the crockery, &c., had already wellnigh suffered extinction during the siege; but I subsequently recovered a few articles of plate and books through the medium of my friend Partridge, who returned to the Residency after we left it, and came out with the remainder of the garrison on the 22nd, who gathered them together and had them conveyed to me at the Dil Khusha, our first halt. I thus still possess some cherished objects and letters which otherwise would have been lost. Among other things I managed to save a chalk likeness of my wife done by Carpenter shortly before we were married, which, as I write, hangs in my room. Carriages, horses, furniture, linen, all household goods were left and lost. After we returned to India in 1859 part of a scrap-book of my wife's was picked up in a bazaar in Patna and sent to her; it must have been carried off by some sepoy who had escaped from Lucknow. We were at this time in better health than we had been. My fever had passed away, but I was weak and scorbutic; the slightest bruise would make a livid mark upon the skin, and this subsequently caused the loss of nearly all my teeth. My wife was in a totally unfit state to travel, and it caused her great suffering: every one was most kind to

her, and our devoted friend Miss Schilling was unceasing and unwearied in her attendance on her and Bob, who owes his life to her constant care and unwearying attention. As far as I can gather, our losses, between the first and the final relief, were 122 men of the original garrison, and 400 of the relief force. The united force was reduced to 2700 effective Europeans and natives. The number of women and children who died I have not been able to ascertain.

The departure was postponed for a day, and it was on the 19th of November that we said good-bye to our old home, our goods and chattels, and made our way out to the Commander-in-Chief's camp at the Dil Khusha, where, after a short time, we got into tents and were supplied with fresh food, milk, butter, vegetables, &c. It may be imagined how much they were appreciated! On the way out we made a halt at the Secundrabagh, where, a few days before, about 2000 sepoys had been killed, being caught in the enclosure as in a trap. The ground was raised in mounds here and there where they had been hurriedly buried, and the stench was horrible. I was glad when in the midst of great confusion we got to the Dil Khusha and found shelter in the tents. I gave my open carriage to some of the ladies, including Miss Schilling, who had my boy with her; my wife went with the Gubbinses. Somebody else had my buggy; but I got it again at the Dil Khusha, and in it my wife subsequently travelled on to Cawnpore. My close carriage was left in the Residency, and I never saw it or the others again.

The road from the Residency to the Dil Khusha was open all the way, but was under the enemy's fire from some of the mosques and tombs, and several men were wounded before we got there. Two were wounded at my carriage in helping to push it on when it stuck in some heavy ground. However, late at night we got to the Dil Khusha, where all provision possible had been made for our comfort.

On the 20th of November we were in camp at the Dil Khusha outside the city, near the Martinière, and very

strange it seemed after our long imprisonment to find ourselves free and moving about, and not in any immediate danger of being struck by shot, shell, or bullet. We appeared to be so safe comparatively that we felt inclined to make light of what seemed danger to others. I had plenty of work to do in caring for all my party and the many sick or wounded who looked to me for aid. I managed with the help of Mr Leach, the apothecary,—who, by the way, was one of my old subordinates in the Burmese war, and had been appointed to Lucknow at the annexation,—to get a few things together, and was able in a variety of ways to be useful. We remained at the Dil Khusha a few days, fighting going on all about us. An attack was even made upon our camp there, but it seemed to concern us very little. Poor General Havelock had been brought out suffering from dysentery, and I was asked to see him in consultation by his staff surgeon, and found him very ill. Disease, age, hard work, and anxiety had been too much for him, and on the 24th of November he died. His body was interred at the Alum Bagh. He had been made a K.C.B. just before his death—a well-deserved honour.

On November 22 Major Stevenson of the Madras Fusiliers died, and others whose names I do not now remember. We hear evil rumours of the prisoners Jackson, Orr, and others in the hands of the enemy; it is said that the men of the party have all been murdered; it proved to be true. The ladies of the party whose lives had been spared were rescued by some English officers at the subsequent capture of Lucknow.

It was not until the 23rd of November that the rebels ceased firing heavily upon the Residency, when they found out it had been completely evacuated. A curious incident occurred in connection with the evacuation. Captain Waterman of the 13th Native Infantry had fallen asleep, and did not awake until the last detachment had left, when, to his consternation, he found himself alone! He rushed after his companions and overtook them in safety;

but so great had been the strain upon his nervous system —already, no doubt, prostrated by disease and exhaustion —that his mind received a shock from which it was long ere, if ever, he recovered.

It was decided that the Lucknow garrison—the women, children, and wounded—should be sent on to Cawnpore, and accordingly on November 24 we commenced our march in that direction with an escort. Our first halt was at the Alum Bagh, where we arrived late at night after a most tedious and fatiguing journey. My wife, Miss Schilling, and Bob were in a buggy; I had one of my horses, but it was so weak it could scarcely carry me. The difficulties and obstacles upon the road were indescribable, but every one was very kind to the sick and wounded, the ladies and children. My wife received her share, and much she needed it. Edgell, who was one of the party, was indefatigable in his efforts to assist and relieve their troubles; he also had a wife and child with him. This son afterwards married my elder daughter. On the 27th of November we recommenced our march for Bunny in the same order as before, and reached our camping-ground about sunset. My wife travelled with Miss Schilling and the child at a foot's pace in the buggy. I walked beside her, and sat occasionally on the buggy step for rest—for, as I have said before, my horse was so weak he could scarcely carry me. Our line of march extended for several miles: it was very straggling, the escort placed here and there along it. There was nothing that one could see to prevent an active and determined enemy from cutting us all up. Some of their cavalry could be seen hovering about in the distance. The difficulties of getting nourishment for the invalids under these circumstances were very great.

On November 28 we marched at 7 A.M., little thinking what we had before us. We had not got far when news arrived that the Gwalior rebels were attacking the troops under Wyndham at Cawnpore in great force. An order was passed along the line that we were to continue our

march to the river-side, nearly thirty-eight miles. Part of the force was sent on to cross the river to the aid of the Cawnpore garrison. We dragged our weary way along, and had great difficulty in getting food, whilst the fatigue to the poor ladies and sick was dreadful. My wife bore it all with her wonted patience and tranquillity. I myself was dreadfully tired, having walked a great part of the way, though sometimes riding, sometimes sitting on the buggy step, with constant calls to aid somebody or do something. The difficulties of the wretched cattle and the worn-out, exhausted men may be more easily imagined than described. One or two births occurred on the roadside as we moved along, happily without evil results. My work, as may be conceived, was very severe. It was indeed a horrid time of anxiety, and we had little idea what was to be the end of it, for the sounds of heavy firing grew louder and louder as we marched. Late at night we encamped three miles from the river. The Commander-in-Chief had gone on with the cavalry and horse artillery, and, finding the bridge intact, had crossed the river, conferred with Wyndham, and made arrangements for his aid against the Gwalior rebels, with whom he was heavily engaged. He then recrossed the river to the camping-ground, where our more slowly moving party had just arrived. It is impossible to speak too highly of the unwearying kindness, attention, and aid that were rendered to all the sick and ladies by Colonel Dickens, the commissary general, and Captain Edgell and the officers subordinate to them, who played an important part in regard to the escort of the Lucknow garrison to Cawnpore. Some tents had been pitched in which the ladies found shelter for the night, but the fatigue and suffering they must have undergone are indescribable.

On the 29th heavy firing and fighting were going on in Cawnpore. Brigadier Wilson was killed, and I heard that we lost five officers and ninety men of the 64th. General Wyndham was in great difficulties until the Commander-in-Chief came to his relief. In the evening the order was

given that the convoy should cross the bridge into Cawnpore, the fighting going on all the time. We had to cross sandbanks and dunes before we reached the bridge of boats across the river, which was fortunately still intact. We were several hours in crossing the wretched bridge, more or less under fire the whole time and amidst the greatest confusion. My dear invalid sat patient and uncomplaining through it, as I walked by the side of the buggy, until at length we got into a sort of encampment on the Cawnpore side where tents had been pitched for the women and children and sick: firing was still going on. The round-shot were flying over the tents, and we felt as much under fire as we had been in Lucknow; but any shelter and rest were acceptable, and we gladly made the best of it. Ere long, a round-shot or two falling into the camp among the tents, the women and children were moved into another place, where they were able to rest more securely. Meanwhile the fight was continuing all round; but I shall not attempt to describe all this, as it has been fully detailed in the various accounts that have been written of Wyndham's affair at Cawnpore. Here poor Gubbins was seized with a serious attack of illness, the result of all he had gone through.

During the time we were here I took the opportunity of visiting Wheeler's intrenchment. It was the saddest sight I have ever seen,—a ruin without any shelter, a very feeble rampart, and littered with remains of things left by the poor creatures who had perished by the treachery of the Nana. Shreds of clothing, patches of dried blood, remains of furniture, and a variety of sad souvenirs were lying about. I picked up, for example, the fly-leaf of a piece of music; who knows how it came to be there, and to whom it may have belonged? It was entitled, "The last Man," by Campbell, and on it were printed the words, "All worldly shapes shall melt in gloom." Strange that I should find it there! I came away saddened and depressed, but full of gratitude that we had been preserved from dangers

of the greatest magnitude, though not so great as those incurred by these poor people. We remained in camp until the 3rd of December, the ladies, children, and sick profiting by the rest and comparative quiet they obtained and the improvement in their diet. It was then thought that we might safely commence our march from Cawnpore.

On the 3rd December, accordingly, we started with an escort, two guns, and some native cavalry; and we made good twenty-four miles in our first march, the order of the procession much as it had been before, although it was somewhat diminished in numbers. I had plenty to do on this march, and amongst other things amputated part of the hand of a wounded soldier. My wife was keeping up wonderfully; the boy was better,—the fresh air, improved food, and Miss Schilling's devoted care, had done wonders for him. We made a march of about thirteen miles on the night of the 4th, and arrived at our camping-ground about 8 A.M. of the 5th. All seemed to be enjoying the change of air and the feeling of deliverance, and the hope of seeing friends and home again had a restorative effect. It is not necessary to give further details of this march, during which much suffering was experienced from the difficulties of procuring food and necessaries for the sick and wounded, though everybody did their best, and all that was possible under the circumstances was done. Suffice it to say we arrived on the 7th at the railway, which had reached then so far as a temporary station called Lohanda. After a detention of two or three hours, occupied in getting everything packed into the train, we started, and reached Allahabad, a distance of forty miles, in about two hours, where we were enthusiastically received by crowds, officers, soldiers, and others, and as soon as possible were taken into the fort, where we found a number of double-poled tents pitched for our reception, and were made as comfortable as possible. I felt more thankful than could be expressed to get my wife under shelter and at rest, for she was sorely worn and fatigued, and my anxiety about her

was intense. Some of the ladies were received into houses in the fort, but my wife, Miss Schilling, our child, and I had a tent, where, after all we had undergone before, we felt comfortable enough. Everybody was most sympathetic and kind, vying with each other to do the most they could to assist the sufferers. We remained in Allahabad Fort for some days, during which time I was again attacked by fever, and the symptoms of scurvy became more marked. The Medical Board then ordered me home to England on sick leave as soon as possible: thus I had not only lost all my property but my health as well. My wife, who had never recovered from the fatigue and privation she had undergone, was prematurely confined of a son. The poor little child, which was very feeble at its birth, died on December the 11th, and the next day I buried him in the old churchyard in the Allahabad cantonment, where a little stone monument marks his resting-place. As soon as she was able to be taken on board a river steamer we left Allahabad, where we had met with so much kindness and sympathy, and went down the river to Calcutta. On our arrival we were most kindly received by my wife's cousins, the Fergussons, with whom we remained until we sailed for England in the steamer Bentinck.

The voyage down the river was interesting, though rather tedious: as the weather was fine and cool, it was not disagreeable. The steamer went on shore on the Dum Dumma flats, but was soon got off again without damage, and proceeded, passing Benares and other interesting places. A day or two before we reached Calcutta a native stoker fell into the machinery and had his leg badly crushed. Amputation was necessary, and a captain in the army and an indigo-planter volunteered to assist me. The planter compressed the artery, the officer held the leg and fainted at the critical moment! However, the operation was satisfactorily completed, the wound was dressed, and the man sent to hospital when we arrived at Calcutta.

In the foregoing description I am conscious that I have

given but an imperfect account of the stirring events through which we passed. In addition to such notes as I had preserved, to the deep impression made upon my memory, to conversations with my wife and others, I am greatly indebted to the Memoirs written by Innes, Gubbins, Rees, Mrs Harris, Mrs Germon, and especially Wilson, to whom I have frequently referred, for refreshing my memory of many of the facts and details I have noted.

I may as well notice here that I had received official letters on the 3rd December 1854 and the 12th November 1855 from Captain Fletcher Hayes, who had been officiating Resident before Outram came, and from Sir James Outram himself, thanking me for my services as assistant Resident. On the 26th September 1857 I was honourably mentioned in Sir John Inglis's despatch from Lucknow; on the 8th December I received the thanks of Government on the above; on 25th November 1857 the medical department of Lucknow was honourably mentioned in the despatches, and on the 22nd December the thanks of the Government on the above were recorded. On the 7th of September 1858 I was promoted to the brevet rank of surgeon, with three other assistant surgeons, for services in the Lucknow Residency during the siege: I received war batta and twelve months' prize-money for the defence of Lucknow, was allowed to count a year's service towards retirement, and received a medal and clasp for the defence of the Residency. I may further add that all the prize-money and batta for Burma and Lucknow I handed over to the Medical Benevolent College at Epsom.

CHAPTER X.

RETURN TO ENGLAND.

Voyage in Bentinck—Ports touched at—Ship takes fire at sea—Fire extinguished—Arrive in England—Go to Jersey—Visit Lord Mount-Edgcumbe—Edinburgh—Join the University, College of Surgeons, and Royal Society of Edinburgh—Botanical tour in Switzerland with Dr Balfour and party—Resume studies in Edinburgh—Receive offer of appointment of Professorship of Surgery in Calcutta—Take degree of M.D. in University of Edinburgh—Visit relatives and friends—Receive permission to return to India to take up appointment at Medical College—Embark at Southampton for India—Voyage out—Arrival in Calcutta.

ON March 1, 1858, we embarked on board the Bentinck, a fine old paddle-steamer. There were many passengers, some of them fellow-sufferers in the Mutiny. On the third day after leaving Galle, when walking the quarter-deck early in the morning watch, I observed smoke issuing in large quantities from the ventilating-pipes opening on to the deck, and it was very soon evident that something was wrong. Everything was kept quiet, and perfect order and discipline were maintained, but the preparations were made for dealing with a ship on fire. Very few of the passengers knew anything about the danger until it became obvious to every one by the saloon being filled with smoke. There was no panic or confusion, the boats were got ready, water and provisions being placed in them, and the passengers were warned to be prepared to go into them at a moment's notice. I went down to the cabin and told my wife what

had happened. She was perfectly tranquil and quiet as she had been during the siege, and set to work to make up a bundle of clothes and a few of our most valuable things, including some of my papers, and we waited for further orders, the fire meanwhile seeming to progress. The pumps were being worked vigorously, at first apparently without any effect; holes were then cut in the deck and volumes of water were sent down into the coal-bunkers, where the mischief had begun as the result of spontaneous combustion: this at length had the effect of putting out the fire, the danger was averted, and we continued our journey. I never saw anything better managed, and it reflected great credit on the discipline of the ship and the coolness and presence of mind of Captain Gaby and his officers. After this we had a good passage to Aden, where we visited the cantonments to see the natural water-tanks. The railway from Suez across the desert was not then completed, and we had to travel for miles in white vans, which rattled along at a great pace, until we reached the railway station at Zagazig, where we found trains for Cairo. Shepheard's Hotel was crowded, so we took up our quarters at the Hôtel d'Orient, where, at the *table d'hôte*, I observed a little old gentleman wearing a fez, who was treated with great deference by everybody and addressed as "mon général": he was a bright, determined-looking little man, with a quick, keen eye. This was the celebrated French surgeon Clot Bey, the head of the Egyptian medical service. Some years previously, after a severe visitation of the plague, in which he had done valuable service, the Viceroy in addressing him said, "You have distinguished yourself in a war that has raged many months; I make you a general." I found the "general" most agreeable. He told me much about the plague, the unreasoning fears that were entertained of contagion, and how, to try and dispel them, he had even worn the clothes and slept in the bed of a man who had died of the disease! He showed me several things of interest, and gave me a book written by himself on plague.

A party of our passengers crossed the Nile in boats to visit the Pyramids, and rode on donkeys across country. There was no road then as there is now. The ride was fatiguing, but very interesting, and showed us something of the fertile Nile valley and the fellaheen. I went to the top of the Great Pyramid and sat on the platform for half an hour, resting and looking at the panorama of Cairo, the desert, the green valley of the Nile, the Sakhara Pyramids, and the Sphinx. We went into the interior, into the king's chamber and other recesses, and were astonished by their extent. We went on to examine the Sphinx, with its calm, mutilated face and aspect of perpetual repose, and had the usual experience of begging and threatening Arabs, who tried to extort money everywhere, including the top of the Pyramid, but did not succeed! One of my men told me at the top that unless I gave him buksheesh he would leave me to come down alone (these Arabs are polyglots, they speak a little of every language), so I said, "Do so, and I will give you a kick as you go, to help you down." Of course he did not leave me, he was an Oriental, and having failed in his attempt, was rather more attentive than before.

After remaining three or four days at Cairo we went on to Alexandria, and embarked on board the P. and O. steamer Colombo, Captain Field, for Southampton. We made a good passage to Malta, and went on shore there to see the city of Valetta and the church of St John with the tombs of the knights. We also drove out to Citta Vecchia, where we saw the catacombs and were conducted through them by a very apoplectic-looking monk. We wandered about through a maze of underground passages lighted by a candle he held in his hand. It occurred to me, if he were to drop down in a fit, which seemed very possible, what should we do? However, we got out all right.

After leaving Malta we stopped at Gibraltar, and thence had a good passage and moderately fine weather to Southampton, but with a heavy sea in the Bay of Biscay. After a short visit to Dinan in Brittany, where my father and

mother were living, they accompanied me to London, and I shortly went to Plymouth to visit my old friend, Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, who was living in a new house on the Plymouth side of the bay, which had been built since 1850, where there were white rhododendrons, the produce of the seed I had sent from Cherra Poonjee. Lord Mount-Edgcumbe invited me to take a cruise with him in his yacht, but this I was obliged to decline, having so much to do elsewhere. I heard of his death with much regret soon after my return to India.

After visiting all my old friends in London, we went to Edinburgh, where I was anxious to go through a course of study at the University with a view to taking the M.D., and to meet my wife's relatives. Having set to work to make the acquaintance of the principal medical men in Edinburgh and at the University, I matriculated, entered the botany and medical jurisprudence classes, worked at analytical chemistry in Professor G. Wilson's laboratory, attended Professor Balfour's lectures at the Royal Botanic Garden, became Professor Syme's pupil, and was a most regular attendant at his clinique. He was very kind, and soon inspired me with the most profound respect and affection for him. The regard was mutual, and we became great friends: I thought then, and still think, that he was one of the greatest surgeons that ever lived. I was also a diligent attendant at the clinical lectures of Professor Hughes Bennett: he was a most excellent, though dogmatic, teacher. Sir Robert Christison was then in his prime as Professor of Materia Medica: his son Alexander had been one of my colleagues in the Burmese war. Dr Maclagan, Mr Spence, Professors Miller, Simpson, Turner, Lister, and Saunders were all most excellent teachers and kind friends. I made several botanical excursions with Professor Balfour and his class, to the Bass Rock, Tantallon Castle, and other places, and later on, in the month of August, to the Continent. I also made the acquaintance of Dr Andrew Wood, my wife's cousin, and on his introduc-

tion was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. In January 1859, on the recommendation of Professor G. Wilson and others, I was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, certain meteorological work being, I believe, the ground of my election, and also became a Fellow of the Botanical Society. It was a curious and interesting fact that my introduction into the Royal Society took place on the same evening as that of my old chief, Sir John Richardson of Haslar, and Professor Lyon Playfair, afterwards Lord Playfair. I devoted myself entirely to study, and was determined to go over the whole curriculum again and make up for what had been formerly omitted, as well as learn much that was new. It was a serious undertaking, but I had a perfect avidity for work at that time and rejoiced in it. My health was already much improved, and the scorbutic taint was passing away, but there were occasionally recurrences of my old fever. I was at lectures and hospital from 8 A.M. till evening, and read till past midnight. We used to be worried by being lionised as members of the Lucknow garrison: we were all objects of interest for some time, but avoided the subject as much as possible. A certain number of dinner-parties and entertainments were inevitable, but they interfered dreadfully with my work.

On August 7, 1858, a party composed of Professor Balfour, Mr Barclay, and myself, with twenty-one botanical students, left Leith for Rotterdam, whence we went direct to Utrecht. We paid a visit to the Botanical Gardens with Professor Bergsmal, and went thence to the tower, of which we climbed the 365 steps and had an extensive view of the flat country with its canals. At Heidelberg we went to a kneip, heard the students sing, and saw them drinking their beer: one came in with his head bandaged up after a recent duel, and seemed very proud of himself. We met plenty of students swaggering about the streets, with their little caps according to their corps. They were neither very courteous nor polite: one tried to jostle a member of

our party, who immediately put him in the gutter. They all looked very angry, but made the best of it. We had left the kneip early, as the *burschen* had some private business which required closed doors. We went to the castle next day, gathered many plants, and departed for Basle about mid-day. We reached Berne the same evening, and there Professsor Meissner accompanied us through the Botanical Gardens. After visiting the Federal Palace we set off in diligences for Thun. The scenery was beautiful, especially the snowy range of the Oberland.

From Thun we sailed to Neuhaus, and thence walked, carrying our knapsacks, to Interlaken, through a lovely valley shaded by walnut-trees, the Jungfrau a commanding feature in the scenery. Passing on through Interseen, we came to the Lake of Brienz, embarked on a steamer, and landed at Rauf, near the Giessbach Falls. Here we commenced our search for plants, and collected about 135 species in this neighbourhood. We crossed the lake to Nacht, on through the Vale of Hasli, past Meyringen, to the Grimsel, our baggage intrusted to porters: carrying one's own knapsack is a mistake and spoils everything! We had three or four horses, and some rode, as I did, a short part of the way. Passing the beautiful Reichenbach Fall, we reached the village of Guttannen above Oberhasli valley, and rested at the châlet of Handeck, one and a half hour's walk beyond Guttannen. The fall of Handeck, more than 200 feet in depth, is very fine. We reached the hospice of the Grimsel in the evening after a very tiring walk: the horse-path is very steep and difficult, but the horses are sure-footed. Between Meyringen and Grimsel we gathered sixty-one varieties of plants. The weather was beautiful, and the next morning we started off with guides and porters, botanically equipped for the day. We passed the end of the lake called Kleinensee and then began to ascend the Sidelhorn, when the sun's rays were so hot that I persuaded my companions to put puggries on their hats. It was a tedious ascent to the summit, 8650 French feet above

the sea; many alpine plants were gathered on the way up. There was a lovely view of the chain of the Alps from the top, the valley of the Grimsel with the river Aar on one side, the valley of the Rhone on the other. The Finsteraarhorn and Schreckhorn, white with snow, rose in all their grandeur, and the glaciers of the Aar and Rhone were seen with their moraines in the valley below. As we descended we examined the moraines, which were covered with sharp rocks and stones. The next day was wet and misty. We walked towards the Vallais, passing the Todtensee, so called because the dead were thrown into the lake after the French and Austrians had had a fight. After reaching the col we descended by a rough and slippery path to the valley of the Rhone, gathering some plants on the way, and visited the glacier below the Furka, whence the Rhone rushes out of the blue vaults of an icy cavern. We went into the ice cavern and then on to the glacier. The weather cleared up, and we walked to Obergasteln, and after a rest went on to Munster, where we took up our quarters for the night, having gathered about forty-five species of plants, which we arranged and dried. We left Munster early the next morning for Viesch, famous for its glacier, rested there for a time, and then set off in char-a-bancs for Zermatt. Having crossed the Rhone, we descended by a precipitous road, and made our way on to Brieg, getting some good plants. On arriving in the evening at Brieg, where the Simplon Pass begins, we sent our plants by diligence to Berne. We left the next morning, and travelled by the beautiful valley of the Rhone to Visp. In an hour we arrived at Stalden, where the valleys of the Saas and St Nicholas separate, the latter leading to Zermatt. Between the valley of the Saas and Zermatt the snowy range came into sight. From Stalden we went to St Nicholas, two and a half hours' walk: here the Weisshorn is well seen. The scenery about St Nicholas is very charming, the tin spires and domes being conspicuous. We came upon patches of snow here

and there. Mist and rain coming on deprived us of the view of the Matterhorn, but we passed some grand scenery, waterfalls, gorges, and bridges across rocky chasms, and also a chapel with a number of blanched skulls exposed. Reaching Zermatt quite wet through, and all our baggage in the rear, we went to bed for an hour or so till it came up. We had gathered forty-four species of plants.

The next morning, August 22, the ground was covered with snow several inches deep: the Matterhorn, white with snow, looked splendid with its conical peak. We ascended the Riffel with a guide, went to the châlet on the rocks and gathered many interesting plants, among them *Gentiana nivalis*. Towards evening we climbed the Görner Grat through the snow, which was too deep for botanising: we were disappointed, as this is an excellent district for alpine plants. The Görner Grat and the Hochthaliger Grat are lofty ridges which penetrate into the very heart of Monte Rosa; from them could be seen a series of gigantic glaciers, precipices, and crags. To the right are the precipitous Lucksamme and Breithorn and the little Mont Cervin and Col St Theodule. The Matterhorn rises like an obelisk, and near it are the twin peaks of Castor and Pollux, and the magnificent Riffelberg, the highest peak of which is the Stockhorn. Above the Riffel is a shaggy peak called the Riffelhorn; and between it and the Stockhorn is the Görner Grat. Below was the splendid Görnergletscher, or Monte Rosa, or Zermatt glacier, said to be the largest in Switzerland. The Dent Blanche above Zermatt is another conspicuous peak. The day was clear, the sun bright, and the reflection from the snow intense; our pupils were contracted to points by the glare. Only fifteen of the party reached the summit of the Görner Grat, and I was one. Our alpenstocks when thrust into the snow made a hole of the most intense blue. The effects of the sunlight were very dazzling, and all of us were more or less affected; faces, necks, and hands were sunburnt, whilst our feet were frozen in the snow. Some of the party made a detour where the

snow had partially melted on some rocks and gathered a few interesting plants: altogether on the Riffel and at Zermatt we collected sixty-nine species. The evening was cold and misty, ice and snow all round the house. The servant who dried my shoes burnt one of them quite hard: having no others there, I had no alternative but to put it on and to walk the whole way back to Visp, thirty-four miles, arriving sorely blistered. We noticed in the châlet book that on the 25th July 1855 at 1 P.M. this house was severely shaken by an earthquake—the same, no doubt, as that which caused so much destruction in Visp.

We began our descent from the Riffel on a cold, clear morning about 6 A.M. Having breakfasted at Zermatt we walked on, and on our way down found that the melting snow had swollen some of the mountain streams into fierce torrents down which trees and *débris* were carried. One was quite impassable. However, at my suggestion we dragged some fallen pine-trees out of the neighbouring woods, laid several of them across the stream and on them placed branches and stones, over which we and the horses were able to cross. We accomplished the thirty-four miles in twelve hours. My foot was very sore from the burnt shoe. This, I think, was the longest walk I have ever taken in my life!

We started next morning, the 25th, for Martigny. The scenery on the banks of the Rhone was charming, and we gathered some plants on the way: buckwheat and maize-fields, with vineyards, are common. We arrived at Martigny in the evening, put up our plants and despatched them to Berne. The weather had become stormy and wet, and was so bad the next day that we could not attempt the Tête Noir for Chamounix. On our way to Bex we gathered some good ferns and plants. Thence we went on to Villeneuve by rail, and embarked on board the steamer for Geneva. The water was looking beautifully blue, as we passed Chillon and Clarens and other picturesque places on the shores of the lake. The day was showery, with lovely rainbows. The

next day we went to see M. Emile Decandolle, who showed us the herbarium, library, and Botanical Garden. There was a lovely view of Mont Blanc from the top of the hotel. We left Geneva that afternoon and returned to London *viâ* Paris, Calais, and Dover. I was back in Edinburgh in the evening of August the 31st, and resumed my studies, working at the cliniques in the hospital, and also in Wilson's chemical laboratory.

During the winter session I attended six lectures a-day besides the hospital, and worked at anatomy in the morning by candlelight before the classes began: a certain portion of my time was also devoted to the reading of classics, which had become somewhat rusty. It was a wonder my health did not give way under the strain, and people were surprised that I should thus spend my leave after all we had gone through, but I had laid down a plan for myself and determined to carry it out. My leave was fifteen months, the most then allowed with the privilege of retaining an appointment. I wrote to India asking the Government to give me three months more leave: this was granted because of my services in Lucknow, and I contemplated taking my doctor's degree and then passing the examination for the fellowship of the London College of Surgeons. On Sunday I used to attend the church of Dr Hanna, whose eloquence and theology both much attracted me. During this time we met several old friends and made a good many new ones; amongst the latter Miss Catherine Sinclair, the authoress, her sisters Lady Glasgow and Lady Leith, and other members of her family. The sisters were all very tall, and their father used to talk of his 36 feet of daughters!

Early in 1859 I received a letter from my old friend Partridge, from Calcutta. He had been appointed Professor of Anatomy and second surgeon in the Medical College Hospital in Calcutta, and informed me that there was a vacancy in the chair of Surgery in that hospital by the approaching resignation of Professor O'Shaughnessy;

that he had been commissioned by the Government of Bengal to offer the appointment to me, with the request that I would telegraph my reply. I immediately did so, and at the same time wrote to the Military Secretary at the India Office asking permission to return to India. Having consulted my friend Professor Syme as to my fitness for the office, he urged me at once to accept it. I also wrote to the Dean of the Faculty of the University asking for an early examination for the doctor's degree in view of my immediate recall to India, and then formally accepted the offer of the chair of Surgery and the office of first surgeon to the Medical College Hospital in Calcutta. It was decided that I should have a special examination for the doctor's degree, and it began on the 1st of March: the examiners were Goodsir, Bennett, Allman, Playfair, and Balfour. I had previously passed the classical examination in Horace, Tacitus, and Sallust, and one foreign language. On the 3rd March the second examination took place, the examiners being Traill, Laycock, Christison, and Syme. The last was good enough to say that he declined to examine me in what I knew as well as he did! The degree was conferred on the 8th of March, and our third[1] son, my namesake, was born the same day.

It is worth noting that about this time, in reply to a question by Mr Ridley in the House of Commons as to why the assistant surgeons in Lucknow, mentioned in despatches, had not received the C.B., Lord Stanley, Secretary of State, said that their military rank being only that of captain it could not be done, but that they would not be forgotten.

I spent the few remaining days in Edinburgh in visiting my friends and relatives to say good-bye, and on this occasion presented Professor G. Wilson with the beautiful piece of cashmere work which had been given me by the King of Oudh, as a contribution for his museum. I also

[1] This is my second living son, and is always referred to as such.

presented Mrs Syme with a bracelet made of Lucknow gold mohurs as a souvenir of her Indian friend.

On March 16 I said good-bye to all at home. My wife and the child were doing well; little Bob was asleep in his cot, and I would not wake him. I did not see him again till he was in the Vth form at Rugby. I called on several of my friends in London, among them Mr Hancock, who gave me valuable advice about my coming course of lectures.

On the 19th of March I left London for Southampton to embark on board the P. and O. steamer Indus, and sailed on the morning of the 20th. During this voyage I read with great interest Sir William Hamilton's lectures on Mental Science and Sir James Paget on Pathology, thinking of my coming lectures. The pilot came on board on the 28th of April, and we reached Calcutta on the 29th, when I landed, and having reported my arrival to the authorities, went to Colonel Henry K. Burne's, who kindly received me for a short time.

Thus I arrived in India for the second time on April 29, 1859, after an absence of only fourteen months. I was thirty-four years of age when I took up the appointment of Professor of Surgery in the Medical College, and first surgeon in the College Hospital, and thus commenced the second part of my Indian career.

CHAPTER XI.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE IN CALCUTTA (1859-1865).

Great heat of Calcutta in month of May—Appointed Professor of Surgery in Calcutta—Death of my wife's father—Mutinous conduct of 5th Regiment of Europeans at Berhampore—First serious surgical operation in private practice—Correspondence with Principal of Medical College on laxity of discipline among the students—Invited by Sir J. Outram, President of Council, to become his private secretary—Operations at hospital numerous—Attend meetings of Asiatic Society—My wife and child arrive in Calcutta—Receive compensation for loss of property in Lucknow—Commence investigations into septic poisoning and osteomyelitis—Sir James Outram leaves India—Death of Finance Minister—Elected member of Council of Asiatic Society and Fellow of University of Calcutta, also surgeon to Calcutta volunteers—Durbar at which Mân Sing was present—Death of Lady Canning—My mother's death—Propose to Asiatic Society an ethnological gathering—Arrival of Lord Elgin as new Viceroy, and departure of Lord Canning—Dr Chevers appointed Principal of Medical College—Expedition to Burdwan and other Mofussil stations—Sir Charles Trevelyan appointed member of Council—Death of Sir James Outram in Paris—Elected member of Syndicate and President of Medical Faculty of University—University degrees—Give general introductory lecture at opening of Medical College—Formation of Bengal branch of British Medical Association—Death of Lord Elgin—Sir W. Dennison succeeds him provisionally—Sir J. Lawrence takes his seat as Viceroy and Governor-General—Shooting expedition to Rajmahal—Introduction of polo from Munipore—Sanitary Commission appointed—Interesting case of hydrophobia—Llewellyn scholarship—Violent cyclone and storm wave—Duc de Brabant visits Calcutta—Bhotan war—Death of Roman

Catholic bishop from insolation—Visit an opium-smoking establishment—Visit north-west of India—My old house at Lucknow—Shooting in the Umeria jungle.

I TOOK an early opportunity of visiting my old friends, and called on the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Halliday, who told me he had determined to give me the professorship. He retired the day after I landed, and my appointment was the last he made. My post at Lucknow was to be kept open for me until I could decide whether to remain at Calcutta or return to Lucknow when Professor O'Shaughnessy retired. My emoluments in Calcutta were very small at this time, being only the half batta pay of an assistant surgeon and half the professorial staff allowance.

After spending a few days with the Burnes, I took rooms in Middleton Street, and began to prepare my lectures. This was very severe work, especially in the great heat. Moreover, my mind was not at rest, as recent letters had told me that my wife's health was far from satisfactory, and this anxiety was increased by the news at the end of May that her father had died rather suddenly of pneumonia.

I was in frequent communication with Outram on the subject of the medical services, in which he took much interest, explaining to him the defects and wants of the service, with suggestions as to changes which seemed urgently required.

It was reported that the 5th Regiment of Europeans was in a mutinous state at Berhampore, and troops were to be sent up to quiet them. These symptoms of unrest were not confined, I believe, to this regiment, but the mutinous spirit did not spread and was soon quelled.

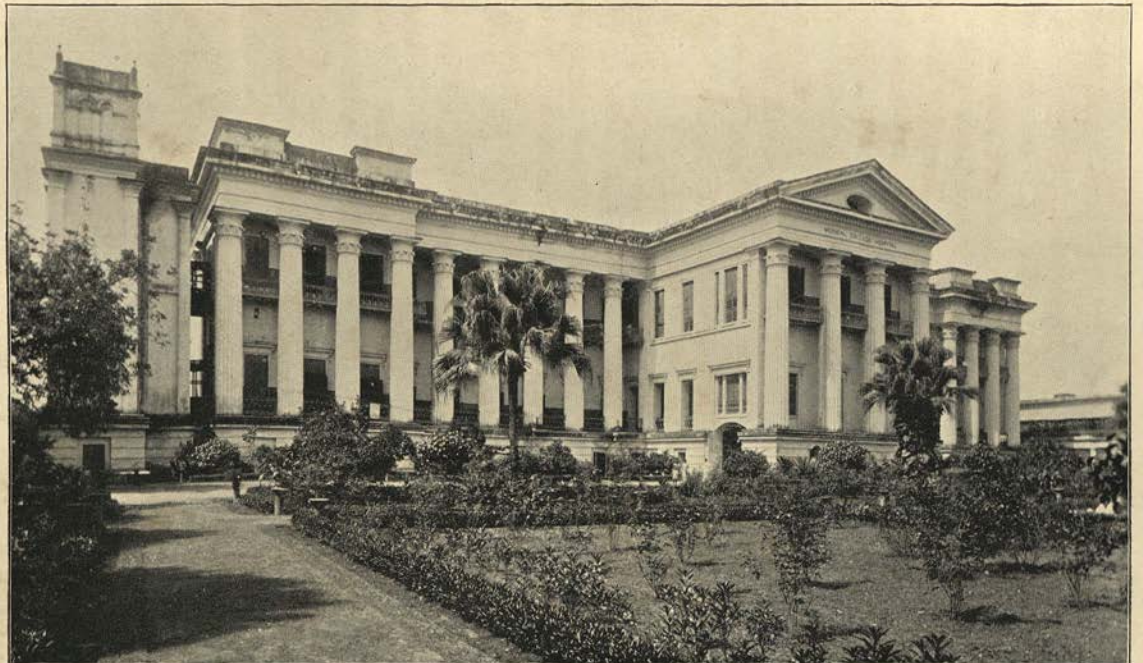
On the 20th of June my introductory lecture took place: being my first public lecture, I felt nervous, but it went off well, and I found no difficulty afterwards. My duties involved attending hospital every morning, with frequent surgical operations; and the Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery having gone on leave, I officiated for him and performed

many operations for cataract and other diseases of the eye. My lectures took place at 2 P.M. three times a-week, in addition to which I gave frequent clinical lectures, and when the cold weather began, a course of operative surgery, which was only possible then, and undertook a complete revision, by dissection, of my anatomy. Early in July my first important surgical operation in private practice was performed. The patient, a civil officer of rank, was thrown from his horse and sustained a bad compound fracture of the leg, the bones being injured by penetrating the ground. I removed about 3½ inches from the tibia, and tied a wounded artery. Other medical men were present, and I heard afterwards that my action in attempting to save the leg had been criticised; but the result proved satisfactory, for the patient is now (1899) alive in excellent health, and with a thoroughly useful leg, but the case caused me much anxiety.

One of my first official acts was to address the Principal of the College on the want of discipline of the subordinates and students, who were so lax, careless, and perfunctory in their work that I could not tolerate it, and had to insist upon reforms. My recommendations were carried out, and the result was ultimately satisfactory.

Shortly after my arrival Sir James Outram, being entitled as President of the Council to have a private secretary, offered me the appointment. I declined, telling him that it would be incompatible with my professorial work, and that I felt sure it would meet with opposition. He reluctantly accepted my view of the matter, and told me afterwards that when he had mentioned it he found that great objection would have been made. He consequently had no private secretary, but nominated as aide-de-camp a son of the Lieutenant-Governor.

My operations at the hospital soon became very numerous, and I removed several large elephantoid tumours. I was attending the meetings of the Asiatic Society regularly, and keeping up an active correspondence with my friends in Edinburgh and elsewhere upon various scientific and profes-



MEDICAL COLLEGE HOSPITAL, CALCUTTA.

sional subjects. In September my duties as an examiner of the Medical College for the diploma of sub-assistant surgeon commenced, but on the constitution of the university the following year, these duties were exchanged for those of university examiner, which slightly added to my income: it had further additions by my appointments to the medical charge of the Lower Military Orphan School and of the Mysore princes.

On the 11th of October the Candia arrived. I went on board, found my wife and child and took them to our house at 29 Chowringee.

An order appeared in the 'Gazette' to the effect that Lucknow people were only to receive one-third of the sum claimed for compensation for loss of property by the siege. As my claim was for less than one-third of what I lost, I did not receive much, but it was very good of the Government to give anything at all. My elephant Luchmi, lost during the siege, had been recaptured, and the option had been given me of having her or the Government price for her. As an elephant could be of no use to me in Calcutta I accepted the money — about one-third of her value.

By the end of this year I was beginning to get occasional consultations, but as yet very few regular patients. I was much occupied with investigations into the subject of septic poisoning, pyæmia, and osteomyelitis, which were very rife here—subjects which had not hitherto been described, in India at least; and I had begun to point out and to write officially upon the defects of structure and sanitary arrangements that made the hospitals unhealthy. My official allowance being very small, and the demands upon me heavy, I was sorely tempted to go back to my old appointment in Lucknow, but after due consideration determined to hold on, as to have given up the professorship would have been a retrograde step, and I was not without hope that as time went on my prospects in Calcutta would improve.

Sir James Outram's health rendered it necessary that he should leave India, and on the 4th July 1860 a great public meeting was held, when an address and a testimonial were voted him. Some excellent speeches were made on the occasion by Sir Bartle Frere, whose acquaintance I had now made, Sir Mordaunt Wells, and others. Within two days Rs. 10,000 were subscribed. To me his loss was very great. He had been my truest and dearest friend ever since we first met at Lucknow. His great qualities had endeared him to everybody, and he was regretted by all classes, European and native. India sustained another great loss about this time in the death of the financial member of Council, the Right Hon. J. Wilson, who had come out to adjust the finances.

An old Dacca friend, Mr A. Wise, died in the hospital in 1861 under very sad circumstances. He had gone to sea for change of air, and when the steamer was lying at anchor off Saugor Island he landed with a party. As they were going along a path through some grass or low brushwood jungle an explosion was heard and two of them fell, one shot through the leg, Wise through the knee-joint. One of the party had discharged, through stepping on it, a spring-gun which had been set for tigers. Wise was brought to Calcutta and placed in the Medical College Hospital, where the knee-joint was found to be so severely injured that amputation was necessary, and he did not recover. Not very long before this occurred he had had a very narrow escape when shooting buffaloes on horseback. The buffalo charged him, throwing down his horse, Wise falling under it. The buffalo proceeded to vent its rage upon the fallen animal, and gored it to death. Probably it did not see Wise on the other side; at all events, leaving the horse dead, it went into the jungle. Wise was shortly after succoured by his friends, and soon recovered from the bruises he had received in his fall.

In January 1861 I was elected member of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and shortly afterwards

a Fellow of the University of Calcutta. Later on I was gazetted as surgeon to the Calcutta volunteers.

Early in March, having completed my second course of lectures, I conducted the examination, in concert with the native Professor Ram Narain Dass, of the vernacular class of medical subordinates known then as native doctors, but later by the more appropriate term of hospital assistants. They were for service with native regiments and in the civil stations. They were all Mohammedans or Hindus, were well educated, and had undergone a strict medical training for three years in the vernacular class of the Medical College, for which a staff of native professors existed. My assistant was a surgeon of great distinction and a famous lithotomist. My knowledge of Hindustani was of great service, enabling me to conduct these examinations with ease.

Our old foe Mân Sing, who had fought against us at Lucknow, and other talukdars, were received at a durbar held by the Viceroy, who made them a gracious speech in response to their address.

About this time a great want, which had long been felt in Calcutta, of a proper system of nursing, was removed by Mrs Cotton, the bishop's wife, initiating the movement for its establishment.

On the 18th of November, to the great sorrow of all India, Lady Canning died in Calcutta of fever, contracted, it was said, in returning from Darjeeling through the Terai. The profoundest sympathy was felt for Lord Canning. Lady Canning was buried in the beautiful mausoleum at Barrackpore. Her loss was felt by the whole community, for she was greatly beloved.

In January 1862 I received the sad intelligence of the death of my dear mother on the 7th of December 1861. This sad news affected me much, for I was deeply attached to her, and was also much concerned about my dear father left alone in his advanced age and increasing infirmity. It was impossible for me to go to him, or I would have done

so; but he had kind friends with him, and my child and much-trusted nurse were also there. My mother was buried at Dinan, and a few years later my father was laid by her side.

At a meeting of the Council of the Asiatic Society I made a proposal for an ethnological investigation of the Indian races, and measures for its prosecution were instituted at once. I subsequently entered into correspondence with Huxley upon this, and although the project was never realised in full, it produced some valuable reports to the Asiatic Society on the different tribes in Bengal, by Colonel Dalton, a writer of eminence.

In March Lord Elgin, the new Viceroy, arrived in Calcutta, and Lord Canning left for England. I went to see him to say good-bye; four months afterwards the sad intelligence came that he had died, worn out by fatigue, anxiety, and the effects of climatic disease. No Governor-General had ever carried on the duties of his Government under more difficult and trying circumstances. That at the outset of the Mutiny his conduct had been misunderstood and misinterpreted there can be no doubt, but it has been fully recognised since that he did his duty nobly, and he will live in the grateful recollection of his country and India.

My friend Dr Chevers, a man of great erudition and experience, was appointed to be Principal of the Medical College. My old friend Dr Forsyth, head of the Medical Department, resigned his appointment after forty years' service: he had always been a most kind friend to me, and I much regretted his departure. He was succeeded by Dr Maclelland, an eminent naturalist.

As the cold weather was setting in, I accompanied the Fergussons on an expedition to Burdwan, Bhagulpore, and Mongyr. We went to see the Rajah of Burdwan's palace, and were much interested in the gardens, where he had a fine collection of wild beasts. At Mongyr, accompanied by Dr Duka, civil surgeon, we visited the old fort, which

has historic interests, and went to see the Pir Pahar, an isolated hill, and the hot springs of the Seeta Khoond—beautiful clear water, giving off bubbles of hydrogen, welling up out of the ground, prized as drinking-water, and formerly much used on board Indiamen.

Early in January 1863 Sir Charles Trevelyan arrived in Calcutta, and assumed his seat as a member of the Supreme Council. On Lady Elgin's arrival a great fancy ball was given at Government House, at which we were all present, and where I met Mrs Eldridge, an American lady recently arrived from America. Not long after this her husband met with an accident which ultimately involved amputation of the leg. I performed the operation, and thus originated a permanent friendship. About this time I renewed my acquaintance with Mrs Scobell Armstrong, whom I had known as a girl, and she and her husband have continued to be among our closest friends.

Prince Ghulam Mahommed, the head of the Mysore family, and the son of Tipoo Sahib,—a most interesting, courteous old gentleman, very much attached to the Europeans, and much esteemed in Calcutta, as he had been in England,—gave a magnificent ball at his house at Russa Pugla, at which all Calcutta was present.

On the 28th of March I received, to my great sorrow, a telegram that my dear old friend Sir James Outram had died at Paris on March the 12th. No more distinguished career was ever brought to a close than that of this great soldier and administrator. He had long been my close and intimate friend, never lost an opportunity of showing me any kindness in his power, and in all things had treated me with the greatest confidence. He had quite recently, at my request, allowed my friend Mr Alfred Buxton to paint his portrait in Paris, and the likeness is good, but he looks so emaciated and worn as scarcely to be recognisable as my vigorous and robust friend of former days. He had been in failing health for some time, and gradually sank from a complication of disorders.

I was now elected a member of the Syndicate of the University and President of the Faculty of Medicine. At the examination for degrees two native gentlemen passed as doctors of medicine, the first since the University was founded. The examination was exceedingly long and difficult, based upon the same plan as that of the University of London.

Having been called up one night to see a Hindu patient of some importance, and having given the necessary instructions for his treatment, I was shocked on going to see him the next morning to find that he had been taken to the Ghât, thus frustrating any chance of recovery. This is an illustration of the difficulties that lie in the way of the practice of medicine amongst natives in Calcutta. In this case a life was sacrificed that possibly might have been saved.

This year it devolved upon me to give the general introductory lecture at the opening of the Medical College: my subject was the training and education of medical men, and the history of universities and their degrees. A Bengal branch of the British Medical Association had been formed in Calcutta in which I took an active interest: the office of President was offered to me, but I was obliged to decline on the score of want of time. Occasionally, however, I attended its meetings, and in the course of this year read a paper. I was now studying Bengali with a pundit, but was too busy to make much progress. My work was in every way increasing, but I made a point of taking as much exercise as possible, going out to ride in the early morning. In June a sharp attack of malarial fever interfered with my work, but passed off again in a few days.

Our second son was suffering from dysentery and causing me much anxiety: his health had not been good for some time, and towards the end of the year Dr Goodeve recommended his returning to England, and he accordingly went at the beginning of the following year. Having thus to part with one's children is one of the great trials of Indian life.

In August we were very busy in the Medical Faculty framing new statutes for graduation. At the same time my surgical work was very heavy: I note among other operations the successful removal of a tumour weighing 73½ lb., and later one weighing over 100 lb. Dr J. Ewart had now joined us at the college as Professor of Physiology, and a very valuable addition he was. Not very long before this Dr Allan Webb, a most eminent medical officer, and surgeon to the Native Hospital, left Calcutta, and was succeeded by Mr Charles Macnamara, under whose able administration it continued to maintain its high character.

In November an old Lucknow friend, Dr J. Brown, died. We had a curious experience in Lucknow during the second part of the siege, when he came in with the relief. I found him one day under a heavy fire in an open place, stooping over a wounded Sikh, trying to tie the subclavian artery. I gave him the help he so much needed; we completed the operation, and carried the man under shelter. How we escaped was a marvel!

News came from the hills that Lord Elgin was very ill, and a few days afterwards the sad intelligence arrived that he had died on the 20th of November at Dhurmsala: general mourning was ordered. He is the second Governor-General who has died in India. Next month Sir William Denison arrived from Madras to act as Governor-General pending the appointment of a successor to Lord Elgin.

At the end of November a flight of locusts passed over Calcutta like a dense cloud, darkening the air, though not so dense as one I had seen in Lucknow: the creatures were dropping and crawling about in every direction. They soon disappeared, however, and did not seem to have caused much injury.

On the 12th of January 1864 Sir John Lawrence took his seat as Governor-General and Viceroy, such being his proper designation since the transference of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown.

Early in the year I went on a shooting expedition with

Mr W. B. Money to Rajmahal, which was very enjoyable; but we were not fortunate enough to get a tiger, and had to content ourselves with buffaloes, deer, and small game, which we got on the churs.

This year Major Sherer, deputy commissioner of Munipore, brought down a troop of Munipoories to Calcutta in order that they might show the game of polo. It was interesting to see how skilfully they pursued the ball upon their ponies. Such is the origin of a game that has now gained so much popularity. Something like it was probably played by the Persians in past ages, though, as we know it, it is due to the Munipoories.

The Gazette of the 4th of February announced the appointment of a Sanitary Commission under the presidency of a high civilian. This was one of the first beginnings of a movement which aimed at the improvement of the sanitary condition of the country, and which in later years had important results, developing into the present elaborate system of sanitation for the whole of India.

In June I had an exceedingly interesting case of hydrophobia. An Englishman was slightly bitten in the cheek by a pet spaniel, and on the same day he had happened by chance to read in 'Blackwood's Magazine' a story called "The longest Thirty Days of my Life," which related how a man had been bitten by a dog and was told by a medical man that if by the thirtieth day no symptoms of hydrophobia had appeared he was safe. It described the anxiety and dread with which he waited for this day, and how his health, which was failing under the tension, was restored when the day had passed. This story had made a great impression on my poor patient: he was perpetually recurring to it, and before very long symptoms indicative of hydrophobia set in. Unfortunately the dog had been destroyed, though there was no reason to suppose it was suffering from rabies, the bite having apparently been given unintentionally. These symptoms became intensified to an excessive degree, and he sank and died. My impression

was, and remains, that this man did not die of hydrophobia, but that his death was the result of extreme nervous exhaustion. I saw another example of a somewhat similar result of the bite of a dog in a young man who had been bitten more than a year before. He gradually passed into a state of melancholia and utter prostration, and so remained until he died, not very long after I saw him, under the influence of a strong impression that the bite of a dog must be followed by hydrophobia.

I had initiated at a meeting held at my house a movement to do honour to the memory of a young surgeon named Llewellyn who had died at his post, remaining with the wounded on the ship Alabama until she sank under the fire of the Kearsage, in the course of the American war between the North and South. Ultimately about Rs. 3000 was remitted to the Charing Cross Medical School to help to endow a yearly prize bearing his name.

On the 4th of October Calcutta was visited by a most violent cyclone which lasted all day. The force of the gale was terrific: it blew down houses, uprooted trees, and destroyed much human and animal life. Ships were driven on shore, and some were left lying high and dry on the drive by the river-side; several were piled up on each other at the Armenian ghât and other places; many sank, and others drifted up the river and ran foul of each other. In the Sunderbuns and in Diamond Harbour the storm-wave rose high and flooded the country, destroying much life; cattle, deer, and tigers were found floating about the Sunderbuns. It was a most terrific visitation and did great damage. In my compound a large casuarina-tree fell, just clear of the portico and the room above it. Shutters and sunshades were stripped off, windows and doors were blown in, and the wind getting inside did much damage. A screen that divided one room into two was crushed down by the atmospheric pressure. Much injury was done to the masonry, the chimneys, &c. Houses were unroofed or blown down; iron railings which surrounded the cathedral

enclosure—which was itself nearly unroofed—were blown to the ground. The maidan and the drives were strewn with branches of trees and leaves, with dead crows, kites, adjutants, pigeons, and various objects that had been blown about from different localities. Corrugated iron and zinc roofings were whirled through the air like paper, inflicting fatal injuries; carriages, horses, and men were blown about in all directions. No such cyclone had occurred within the memory of any living man. It came from about the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, its centre travelling right over Calcutta. The roaring and the demoniacal whistling of the wind were terrible, and defied description. The cyclone left the city like a place that had been heavily shelled. The largest trees were uprooted, whilst the cocoanuts, bananas, and palm-trees were twisted and torn to pieces. The next day I got to the hospital and made my visits as usual. The road to Alipore was so obstructed by fallen trees that I could not get on. At the hospital fourteen dead bodies had been brought in, and the building itself had suffered considerably. The Bentinck, which had recently been fitted up as a hospital ship for convalescents, and which I had inspected not long before, was driven from her moorings in Diamond Harbour far inland over the rice-fields: the people on board had a very anxious time, but there was no loss of life. The cyclone was followed immediately by an epidemic of cholera. The weather soon settled down, and became so fine that one could hardly imagine such a gale could have occurred but for the traces of it. The fallen trees, the stranded and broken-up ships, were removed, the injured places were repaired, and Calcutta in time began to resume somewhat its former appearance, but many years elapsed before all traces of the storm disappeared.

In the early part of 1865 a levée was held by the Viceroy for the reception of native chiefs, and amongst other distinguished persons present was the Duc de Brabant, who subsequently became King of the Belgians. He was on a

visit to Calcutta and other parts of India, and made himself very popular.

At this time the Indian Government was engaged in a war with Bhotan which, though ultimately successful, did not make quite such satisfactory progress as was anticipated. It was attended with a good deal of sickness, but was no doubt a valuable lesson in frontier warfare.

The thermometer stood at 92° on the 25th of June, with the air almost saturated with moisture: this is a condition very perilous to life, and there was a great deal of sunstroke and ardent fever in consequence. The Roman Catholic bishop was one who succumbed to it. In the middle of September heavy rain fell and cooled the air. This month I paid a visit to an opium-smoking establishment, and saw the process of preparing the opium: the place was a miserable den, and the poor victims of this wretched infatuation looked haggard, worn, and emaciated. Of course, only its worst effects are seen in places of this kind. The moderate use of opium, which is very prevalent, is probably not so injurious in India as is alcohol in England.

The hard work, the responsibility, and the great heat had told upon me by this time, and it became necessary to go for a change and rest. I made arrangements for a visit to the North-West, and on the 4th of October left Calcutta. When entering Allahabad we came into collision with another train, fortunately when at reduced speed; several of the carriages were smashed and many of the passengers bruised and shaken, but no one seriously injured. At Cawnpore I went with Dr Jones, the civil surgeon, to visit the memorial gardens and well, over which a fine statue by Marochetti had been placed, with an inscription stating that it is the grave of the people who were murdered by the Nana in 1857. I also saw the site of Wheeler's intrenchment. I arrived at Lucknow the next morning and stayed with my old friend John Martin, who had an appointment there. I went with Colonel Barrow to my old house, now in ruins, and pointed out to him the exact place in the Resi-

dency where Sir Henry Lawrence was hit, and where he died. My house seemed to be less ruined than some of the others. I went all over the place so familiar in past days—what memories! The next day we drove to the Muriaon cantonments, and found that the old station was simply obliterated. It was difficult to make out where the church in which we were married had stood. The vestiges of some well-known bungalow, a bit of wall here or there, or a pillar, and the old *chabutra* where the band used to play, were all that remained of the familiar objects of former days. Who would have supposed that such changes could take place in so short a time! It is not ten years since this was a populous, cheerful cantonment, gay with people driving and thronging about the band-stand in the evening. It might have been a ruin hundreds of years from the look of it! My old friend Ugha Ali Khan, the former chakladar of Sultanpore, Lala Pursid Narain, the old deputy postmaster, and some of my former choprassies, came to see me.

The next day I went to one of my old beats of former years and shot through the Mahona and Umeria jungles. Several elephants were sent out for me by the Nawab Moosun-ud-Dowlah, and I rode my own old elephant Luchmi, now the property of Mr Davis, the financial commissioner, who bought her for Rs. 4000. We got some nylgye and small game. How it reminded me of old days!

I thence went to Agra and visited the great central jail with Dr Moir, and the medical school, the fort, the Moti Musjid, and that beautiful building the Taj Mahal, saw the Secundra and Mahmud Shah's tomb, and then left for Delhi, where I went to see the Jumma Musjid, the palace, and the ruins of old Delhi. On my way back I stopped at Allahabad and Patna. My health was much better for the change, but the muggy heat of Bengal oppressed me in contrast with the drier climate of the North-West.

I had made considerable progress since my arrival in Calcutta. My surgical work had increased greatly, the most formidable operations being frequent, and my private

practice had also increased considerably. The work of a medical man in Calcutta is exceedingly heavy—nowhere is it more so. He is physician, surgeon, general practitioner, and everything else, and of course has many other duties to perform, and a great deal of this work is absolutely unremunerative. The expenses of living—horses, carriages, house-rent—are very great. My usual routine was as follows: Up at gun-fire, a long ride (I had several horses), *chota haziri*, important cases at their own homes, visit to the hospital wards, operations, clinical lecture; in the early mornings in the cold season I often worked at anatomy; breakfast at about ten, patients at home, then out to visit patients, lunch at about one o'clock, back to the college to lecture at 2 P.M. three times a-week, then a drive with my wife, or a ride, dinner at eight, then more patients to visit, then to bed, from which I was not unfrequently summoned; besides this, casual urgent cases that came at all hours.

Our fourth and fifth sons were born, James Outram Spens in 1861, Henry Wadham Spens in 1862, and our first daughter in 1864. In 1861, much to our gratification, my wife's sister came to live with us.

CHAPTER XII.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE IN CALCUTTA—*continued* (1866-1869).

Bishop Cotton drowned at Kushtia — Visit to the North-West — Great durbar at Agra—Futtehpore Sikri—Begum of Bhopal—Christmas in Calcutta—Appointed President of Asiatic Society of Bengal—Proposed Zoological Society—Grote at Alipore—Rajah of Nattore—Pathological investigations—Bishop and Miss Milman—Fatal accident to a young officer—Commence investigation of snake-bite—Severe cyclone—Expedition to the North-West—Viceroy visits the Lucknow Residency—Resign Presidency of Asiatic Society—Rev. Dr Macleod visits Calcutta—News of the fall of Magdala—Severe shock of earthquake in Calcutta —Lord Mayo arrives as Viceroy—Sir J. Lawrence leaves—Appointed officiating surgeon to new Viceroy—Visit hospitals with him—Tiger-shooting expedition to Purneah—Salt Lake drainage scheme—Death of my father—P. and O. steamer Carnatic wrecked in the Red Sea—Trip to the Sandheads—Duke of Edinburgh arrives in Calcutta—Chapter of the Star of India.

THERE was nothing of importance to chronicle in my own life in the year 1866 before I went to the North-West in October. The senate of the university had been engaged in discussing the best use to be made of a donation of 2 lacs of rupees by a rich Bombay gentleman, Prem Chand Roy Chand, and it was ultimately decided that it should be devoted to the furthering of university education. Calcutta now had an Italian Opera to which we often went: it opened with "Trovatore," and subsequently gave the best known works of the Italian masters. A famine prevailed in

many parts of Bengal and Orissa, and it was terrible to see the dying, famine-stricken creatures that were brought daily to the hospital, some only to die as they were taken from the carts.

In October the sad news came that Bishop Cotton had been drowned at Kushtia. He was on one of his visitations, and when going on board the steamer at night he stumbled and fell from the gangway into the river, which was running rapidly: every effort was made to save him, but he was never seen again. I knew him well and liked him much, and had been associated with him on the senate of the university.

I left Calcutta on the 11th of October, stopped at Delhi, and went on to Sunawar, where I stayed with Dr Collis, who was in charge of the Lawrence Asylum for the children of soldiers, and thence went on to the Durands at Simla. On arriving I was greeted at the door by a mastiff bloodhound, Saxon, presented by me some time before to Miss Durand: he had grown a magnificent dog, and recognised me at once.

It is wonderful how the little Jân Pânies carry the Jân Pân and a man's weight from Kalka to Simla, more than forty miles, over most mountainous roads. They are neither large nor muscular men, and this shows what habit will do, and how much more every man might do if he only properly trained the power he possesses! The climate was beautiful, the sun bright and warm in the day, but the nights cold. I rode about the station the next day, visiting my friends, amongst them Grant the African traveller, who was in the relief of the Bailey-guard, and Sir Henry Sumner Maine, vice-chancellor of the university, who had given the last address at Convocation. I dined with the Viceroy, and beat him in a game of billiards afterwards. The day before leaving Simla I went to Mahasu, where we had a magnificent view of the snows, and had lunch with the Commander-in-Chief, who was at the time living there.

At Agra, having joined the Durands *en route*, we drove to the Viceroy's camp and found our tents in the main street. I was a guest of the Viceroy for the great durbar. Colonel Durand took me to pay a visit to the Begum of Bhopal, who had been well known to him when he was Resident at Indore: she, with many other sovereign princes of India, was here for the durbar. We saw her and her daughter, the Shah Jehan Begum, and her granddaughter the little Sultân Begum. The old lady was very active and energetic; she seemed delighted to see us, sat and talked to us freely, and made the little Sultân Begum read English and Persian and go through an examination by her tutor, who put questions to her which she answered very clearly and funnily. "What is a man?" "A noun." "What sort of a noun?" "A common noun." "Why is it called a common noun?" "Because there are plenty of men." One would say not in this case, seeing that the raj is always held by a female! The mother, Shah Jehan Begum, who is the heir-apparent, was *purdah nasheen*, but she talked to us through a purdah so flimsy that I could almost see her face and that she was young and graceful. The old lady was clever and astute, and considered a very able ruler; she was very faithful to us during the Mutiny. She was plainly dressed, and had a common woollen comforter round her neck, which was worked in her own orphan asylum. This comforter she was very fond of, and later on at the grand durbar she wore it over her blue satin robes of the Star of India. When we complimented her upon having been made a G.C.S.I., she said, "Ham aur Victoria donon admi knight hain."[1] The little Sultân Begum, who was about eight or ten years old, came back in the carriage with us accompanied by the prime minister and her tutor.

We went to the fort and saw all that was interesting within its precincts,—the Khâs Mahal, and the underground dungeons into which refractory Begums were said

[1] "I and Victoria are both knights."

SIR HENRY DURAND.

to be thrown. We saw also the places where our people lived during the Mutiny.

The next day we left Agra for Futtehpore Sikri, the ancient capital built by Akbar, abandoned soon after it was built. There we lived in Birbul's house (Akbar's minister), an elaborately carved red building with two domes for roof. It is an old walled city with a great many interesting buildings, and we spent the day looking at them. Perhaps the most interesting was the Durgah—*i.e.*, the tomb of Sheikh Selim Chisti, the patron saint of the place, with its magnificent arched entrance and its carved buildings. There were also the houses of Jodh Bhai, Akbar's Hindu wife and mother of Jehan Gir; Miriam, his Christian wife; and Fatimah, his Mohammedan wife. There was the Dewan-i-Khâs, with its extraordinary pillar upon a platform, from the top of which the emperor, sitting with his ministers, one at each corner, administered justice, and the courtyard in which the game of *pachisi* used to be played, with girls for counters. Then the Hindu fakir's house, the Panch Mahal, the Mint, the Hatti Pol, a pillar or tower covered with imitations of elephants' tusks projecting from it, where the emperor used to sit and shoot deer driven past him, and the Pîr's shrine, where people tie a string to the marble network and wish for something, which wish, it is said, is sure to be realised!

The weather was beautifully clear and bright, and on the evening of the 9th of November there was a magnificent display of falling-stars: we were passing through the Leonids. This, I believe, was one of the most remarkable manifestations of this kind ever known.

On our return to Agra we went to see the Taj illuminated: it was very picturesque and beautiful, especially the lights floating down the river; but I prefer it, like Melrose Abbey, by moonlight.

The grand durbar for the investiture of the Star of India was a very imposing ceremony. A number of native princes, chiefs, and others received the decoration, and looked re-

splendent in their blue satin robes over their gorgeous oriental costumes. They took their places according to their rank. The old Begum with her blue satin robes, her magnificent jewellery, and her old woollen comforter wrapped round her neck over all, was splendid! She was sitting next to the Maharajah Scindia, who looked most contemptuous and scornful. There was a great party and reception in the durbar tent in the evening. The Maharajah Scindia gave a *fête* also at the Taj at night, and the illuminations were again very beautiful. The supper was magnificent; but I doubt the Mohammedans being pleased at Christians eating ham, amongst other things, in the precincts of a mosque at a *fête* given by a Mahratta chief!

I returned to Calcutta late in November, and was taken very ill on the night of my arrival with a choleraic attack which weakened me considerably. However, I was able to resume my duties the next day.

At Christmas time in Calcutta the doors, gates, &c., were decorated with strings of marigolds and also with the scarlet and green leaves of the poinsettia, which gave the place a very festive appearance. In fact, Christmas is as gay a season in Calcutta as in any foreign country, for the weather is cold and bright, and one may even have a fire with advantage! How different it must be in Australia, where Christmas is the hottest time of the year!

In January 1867 I was appointed President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, having previously been made a trustee of the Indian Museum, and gave an address on taking my seat as President. In this capacity I subsequently wrote to the Government recommending that a scientific mission should be sent to Abyssinia and to the Nicobar Islands, where much of scientific interest was to be looked for: eventually W. T. Blanford was sent, with excellent results. I proposed a scheme for a Zoological Society and Gardens in Calcutta, which was recommended to be carried out. My project fell into abeyance for a time for lack of funds, but when in India with the Prince of Wales in 1875

I had the satisfaction of seeing the Gardens opened by his Royal Highness.

I frequently visited my friend Arthur Grote at Alipore, where he had a most charming house: he was a man of great culture and learning, a prominent member of the Asiatic Society, and an ardent naturalist. At this time the Rajah of Nattore, a much-respected Brahmin, was under my care: he expressed his determination to die rather than take any form of nourishment or medicine that might prejudice his caste, but on my assuring him he need have no apprehension, he resigned himself entirely into my hands.

In May the heat was intense, the thermometer 100° in the shade; it stood at 98° to 100° in my carriage. What would the doctors in London say to working in such a temperature! but I had my early ride as usual. There were many deaths from insolation, not only of men but of horses, which were not unfrequently seen lying dead in the street; and we were shocked one night by the sudden death from heat of a gentleman who was living in our house.

I had been working out the subjects of osteomyelitis and septicæmia generally, for unhappily there were ample opportunities of doing so in the hospital. It was not till long after my researches were made that I found out that M. Jules Roux of Toulon had written very much to the same purpose, and had had very similar experience to my own. I also investigated and wrote on the subject of embolism and fibrinous coagula in the heart and pulmonary artery as a cause of death after surgical operations, as well as under other conditions of disease, frequently intervening and destroying life that in all probability would otherwise have been preserved. I was also investigating the nature of the so-called visceral abscesses which begin as patches of necrotic tissue, the suppuration taking place round them, as it would anywhere else in the areolar tissue.

I saw a good deal at this time of Miss Milman, the bishop's sister, who was a most energetic and philanthropic lady, much beloved by everybody. The native ladies, for

whom she did so much, styled her "her holiness." The bishop was a great friend of mine, a man of wonderful energy and learning. He preached in Hindustani and Bengali within two years of his arrival. He was a most excellent, liberal man, "a thorough Christian and a good Churchman," and filled his high office nobly, respected by men of all creeds. His "at homes" at the palace were most interesting gatherings: one met men of all creeds, —Greek archimandrite, Armenian bishop, Romish priest, Hindu pundit, Mohammedan maulvi. I used to call these parties Miss Milman's ethnological gatherings. It was impossible to imagine any one better fitted than the bishop for the office he held, so firm in his own faith, so charitable and considerate for all others, recognising good wherever it existed.

In September a very interesting case occurred. A young military officer was travelling to Calcutta on board a troopship which called at Trincomalee: he landed with a young naval officer, and at night they went into the jungle with Snider rifles to shoot, accompanied by two shikaries. Being tired, the naval officer lay down and fell asleep, but in a short time his native guide awoke him and pointed out some objects moving along an open glade in the forest, into which the bright moon was shining. In the shadow of the trees he thought these objects were pigs, fired, and one fell. On going up to it, he found, to his dismay, that he had shot his friend in the hip. In great consternation they carried him back to the ship. When he reached Calcutta I was asked by the garrison surgeon to see him, and it was obvious from the everted foot and shortened limb that the bone was broken. On examining the wound I found that the hip-joint was comminuted; profuse suppuration had set in, rigors and sweats told the sad tale that pyæmia had begun. He was very weak and exhausted, but quite sensible, hopeful, and courageous. In consultation the chief medical officers agreed with me that the only hope, and that a feeble one, was amputation at the hip-joint. His friends

were told, and both he and they expressed a wish that it should be done. I performed the operation, being ably assisted by Partridge and Home (afterwards Sir Anthony Home). He bore it well and rallied partially, but it was too late, and he sank in a few hours. The distress of the poor fellow who shot him was very great.

Early in October a very interesting case of traumatic tetanus came under my care, as the result of a wound in the palm of the hand. I divided the median nerve, and the man recovered perfectly. It seems to me difficult to explain such cases as this by the bacillary theory. It was at this time that I began my first experiments in a long series of investigations into the interesting question of snake-poisoning, which resulted in the publication of the 'Thanatophidia of India' in 1872.

On November the 2nd Calcutta was visited with another cyclone. The effects were much the same as those of its predecessor in 1864, though intensified by darkness and heavy rain. But the storm-wave was less severe, and consequently the shipping did not suffer quite so much, though one of the P. and O. steamers found its way into the middle of the Botanical Gardens, and could only be floated out by a trench cut for the purpose. The gale blew itself out by about 4 A.M., but when I went to the hospital there were ninety-nine dead bodies laid out before it, picked up in the neighbourhood. In 1876 traces of the two cyclones were still visible in Calcutta.

I left Calcutta early in November for Lucknow, and on the 16th there was a parade at the Residency of all the survivors of the Bailey-guard who could be got together, to meet the Viceroy, who addressed them. Sir George Couper made a most eloquent reply to the Viceroy's speech. I then went round the place with him and presented some of my old garrison, especially the pensioners, who had not in my opinion had enough done for them, and I said so. The Viceroy listened to me and spoke most kindly, but nothing more was ever done for them: it was too late, I

suppose. I left Lucknow early in the morning, at Cawnpore joined the Viceroy's special train, and returned with him to Calcutta.

Early in January 1868, my year of office having elapsed, I resigned the presidentship of the Asiatic Society and gave another long address. I was offered re-election, but declined it, as my work was too heavy.

Dr Norman Macleod, the great Glasgow divine, was in Calcutta at this time on a mission connected with the Scottish Church, and I heard him preach two or three very eloquent sermons. He was a most interesting and amusing man, and charmed people with his conversation and anecdotes. Lady Lawrence was returning to England at the same time as Dr Macleod, and I went to Government House to say good-bye to her and to Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, who had been under my professional care.

On May the 1st we heard the news of the fall of Magdala, the release of the prisoners, and the death of King Theodore, Sir Robert Napier being in command of the victorious troops.

On the 10th of January 1869 the weather was fine but cloudy, and rather sultry in the afternoon for the time of year. At a quarter to 5 P.M. there was a severe and prolonged earthquake shock. There was a series of undulations, apparently from the east to the west, and the house shook so violently that it seemed as though it might fall or the roof come in. The earthquake was felt all over the town, but no serious damage was done, though news came from Cachar that it had destroyed part of that station. Dr Oldham subsequently went there and wrote an official account of the results. Later on this was published in an elaborated form in the Transactions of the Geological Survey of India by his son Richard, a member of the same survey.

Lord Mayo, the new Viceroy, arrived on the 12th of January, and I went to Government House to see his reception by the retiring Viceroy. They met upon the steps.

THE EARL OF MAYO.

The contrast between the comparatively young, vigorous man and the older and time-worn veteran who was leaving was very striking. The one had yet to prove—as he afterwards did—what the other had already proved himself, a tower of strength. I formed one of a deputation to present a farewell address to Sir John Lawrence, who sailed on the 19th to England, and went to Government House to say good-bye: he had all along been a kind and good friend. A few days later I made Lord Mayo's acquaintance, and he invited me to become his surgeon. I accepted the office for so long as he remained in Calcutta, but could not accompany him up country, and in due time Dr Oliver Barnett relieved me. I went with a deputation of J.P.'s to see the new Viceroy, and shortly afterwards accompanied him to visit the hospitals. I submitted a long memo upon the native hospital for Lord Mayo's information, and saw a good deal of him at this time, as he frequently consulted me on all medical matters connected with the service or the hospitals in Calcutta.

About the end of this month two young medical officers, Drs Lewis and Cunningham, who had been specially trained in microscopical work, arrived in India to investigate the causes of cholera. They did very good service, and thoroughly justified their appointment.

My professional and hospital work at this time was very heavy. I had some time previously been appointed consulting surgeon to the Howrah General Hospital, and, in March, needing change of air and rest, left Calcutta for an expedition to Purneah with F. Eldridge and G. Money. We were to join a party consisting of Messrs Shillingford and Cave, indigo-planters. From Sahibgunge we ascended the river to Caragola Ghât, where we were met by Mr C. Shillingford with elephants, on which we rode to Bahora factory. We went out early on the 18th with a good line of elephants and beat over an extensive plain near the bank of the Ganges, growing indigo and other crops, with nullahs and ravines containing water and long grass. About noon

we found and killed a tigress 8 feet 2 inches in length. We got also some hog-deer and small game. I was using breech-loaders for the first time: they certainly were a great improvement upon the old muzzle-loaders. Near the Jownea factory, our next halt, I shot a crocodile lying on the bank of a stream within 200 yards of the factory. We had been thinking of bathing in this stream, but changed our minds!

The next day was blank, but in the afternoon following, in a comparatively small patch of jungle, we found and killed a very fine tiger. He made a good fight, charging Shillingford's elephant and mine, but did not make his charge good. He measured 10 feet as he lay dead where he fell. Shortly after this we killed a large boar, which charged the elephants several times. Just before reaching Daveypore we killed a bull buffalo: I had him nearly all to myself. He was slightly wounded, and made off across the plain at speed, but was overtaken in a deep nullah full of water, and got up the steep bank on the other side. I followed with considerable difficulty, and found him in a patch of jungle, where he came to a stand, and charged my elephant. The mahout was much excited, and feared his elephant might be injured. I rolled the bull over as he came at me, and he fell to the ground below: he struggled and tried to rise, but one or two shots finished him.

The locality in which we were shooting is malarious when the waters dry up. The people were chiefly low caste — Dângers, Dosâds — and they bore little or no trace of suffering from malaria. Cholera is frequently epidemic here about this time of the year. Shillingford told me he had lost seventy-five men in a few days at one of his factories from this cause.

The next day we beat over some of yesterday's ground, as we had received *khubber* of a kill: we found it, and in a nul swamp we put up a tiger which gave much sport. It broke through the line repeatedly, and at last came

out into the open, saw Shillingford and me, and made for another dhar about half a mile away. We followed, and forming line, beat it up. Again it charged through the line, doubled several times, and not till it had bitten a small pad elephant severely in the trunk did we get it, simply riddled with bullets. It proved to be a fine tigress 8 feet 7 inches long, evidently fasting. We had lunch under a tree, of which the trunk was scored with marks of tigers' claws: they are very fond of cleaning and sharpening them in this way, and the height of the marks shows how far they can reach. During the night a case of cholera occurred in one of our camp followers; I gave him medicine, and sent him off in a hackery with a man to look after him, to his home, which was not far off. A previous case had proved fatal. At a place called Mohispore we got four buffaloes, three full-grown and one half-grown; the bulls had very fine heads and horns.

The next day we crossed the river Coosie and an extensive plain of partly burned grass, and here got two buffaloes. Both were good-sized bulls with fine heads and fought well, frequently charging; elephant was badly gored.

The following day we beat several dhârs, and in one we found a recent kill. The tiger had killed a buffalo calf and had struck down the mother, which we saw wounded and looking sick and dejected. We turned out eight buffaloes from a heavy nul swamp, but did not fire at them. Our luck commenced after this. We got a fine tigress in the open, she having charged out of a swamp. I gave her a ball in the neck, which rolled her over, and she was immediately killed. We then went to another dhâr, found another tigress, and killed her also after some good charges. Having recrossed the Coosie, we killed a tigress by moonlight, a very picturesque adventure.

On the next day, March the 25th, we found a very large tiger: he crept quietly up to the end of the swamp, the elephants giving very little sign, until nearly the end, when,

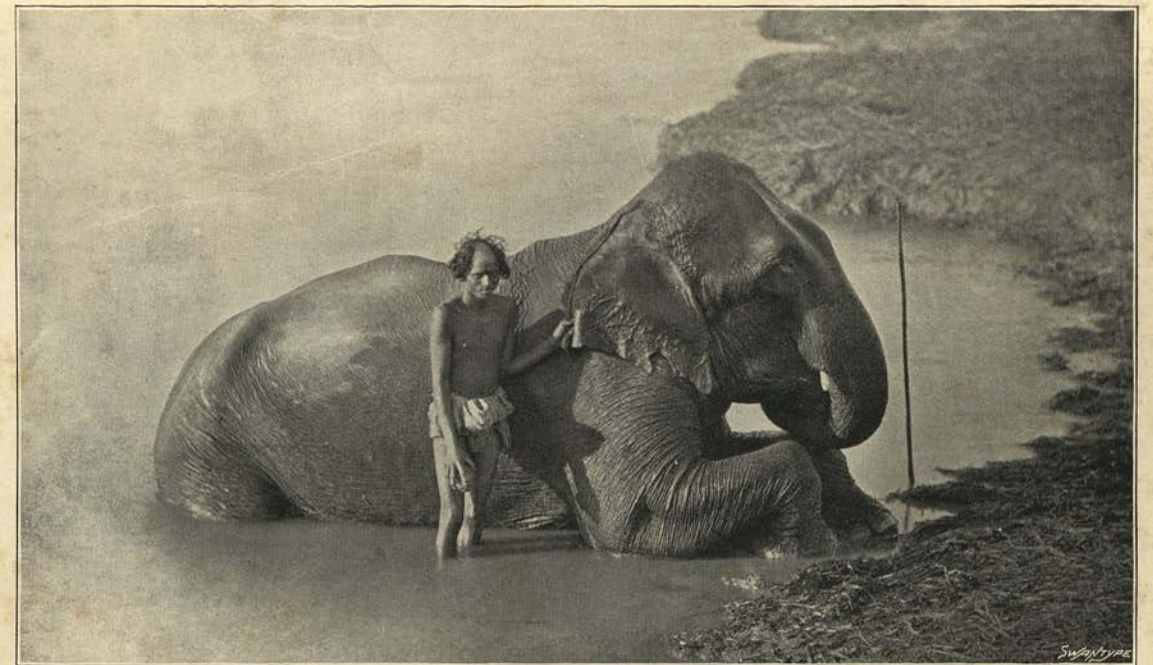
seeing he must break cover or double back, he charged the line and put two elephants to flight. We turned and followed him immediately, and in the middle of the swamp we caught him up, when he fell riddled with bullets: he was 10 feet 8 inches in length. He was said by the aheers to be the mate of the tigress we previously killed here. I have seldom seen a larger tiger; there was no mistake about his size, for Shillingford and I measured him where he lay. It took a long time to pad him, he was so heavy, and fell off the elephant's back three times before he was securely fastened. The villagers and aheers in the neighbourhood came flocking round to see him. It was curious how they had stood on the edge of the swamp when we were beating, though the tiger might at any moment have rushed out among them. In recrossing the Barundah stream the elephants got into a *phussun*, and Eldridge's *mukhna* had great difficulty in getting out.

The next day was very windy, and all we got was forty quail, in the evening. We had been shooting nine days and had killed two tigers, five tigresses, seven buffaloes, eight boars, and nine deer, besides small game. We then returned to Calcutta.

One evening, on returning from our drive, we found a doolie had been set down at our door and left there by the bearers. The occupant, who was unconscious, was an officer of rank. There was no letter or communication of any kind with him, and we did not know at the time who he was or where he came from. We took him in and did all we possibly could for him, but he died shortly. I never heard any explanation of how he had been thus left at my door: it was fortunate he did not die on the road.

Shortly after my return I accompanied Mr Cockerell and Mr Clarke, the engineer, to see the salt-water lake in reference to a possible drainage scheme, which, however, never came to anything in my time, at least.

On the 19th of May the sad news came of the death of my dear father on the 20th of April: he had been failing



WASHING AN ELEPHANT.

ever since my mother's death. He was eighty-four years of age. We heard about this time that the P. and O. steamer Carnatic was wrecked in the Red Sea, twenty-six people drowned, mails and cargo lost.

In October my friend Robert Stewart and I went down the river on board the steamer Hunsden and anchored off Saugor Lighthouse. At midnight we steamed out to the Sandheads and took a ship in tow as far as Saugor Roads. We lay at anchor off Saugor till daylight, and I slept on deck with the Saugor lights gleaming in my face. We got back to Calcutta the next evening all the better for the change. These trips to the Sandheads, which mean sea-air for a few days,—it may only be hours,—are very beneficial. I have often wondered what the Calcutta people would do without them. Messrs Gladstone and Wylie's steamers were very comfortable, and were allowed to take passengers, a privilege for which the public were much indebted to them.

On the 22nd of December H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in Calcutta and had a splendid reception. This was followed by great rejoicings, and amongst other visitors to Calcutta at this time whose acquaintance I made were Lord Napier of Merchiston, from Madras, and Sir Seymour Fitzgerald from Bombay, and also the Maharajahs of Ulwar and Kuppurtolah. But a sad occurrence marred the festivities for me, for I was summoned to one of the boarding-houses to see a young man who had cut his throat in the bathroom, but when I got there he had bled to death. At the same time also I had been summoned to see the child of a friend who was dangerously ill.

On the 29th of December a Chapter of the Star of India was held in an encampment on the maidan, a most gorgeous spectacle, at which the Duke was invested as a G.C.S.I. There was a magnificent display of uniforms and Star of India robes. I rode with the other Companions of the Order, having been made a Companion the previous year. I have described a similar ceremony on the same site in my

Journal with the Prince of Wales, so need give no further details now.

On the 31st of December we went to a fancy ball at Government House. My house-surgeon, Saunders, was also there. About midnight I was summoned to a sufferer from a railway accident, and went over at once, taking Saunders with me, he in fancy costume, I in court dress, and there and then amputated the poor fellow's arm, removing the scapula at the same time and part of the other hand: he died shortly after of the shock.

So ended 1869, amid a strange conflict of feelings, as may be imagined. The noise, excitement, and fatigue, the ceremonial festivities of royalty, on the one hand; the numerous sick, the poor suicide, the crushed railway sufferer, the surgical operation at midnight, on the other, — caused a general mental whirl.

During the period recorded in this chapter my work continued to increase, and included numerous capital operations, such as amputation at the hip-joint, excision of other joints, for strangulated hernia, and others. Interesting cases of shark-bite occurred at the bathing-ghâts, where the Gangetic shark occasionally seized bathers. At meetings of the British Medical Association there were important discussions on hepatic and other diseases, in which I took part; and I was also engaged in writing for the Indian 'Annals of Medical Science' and other journals, and on my first book, 'Clinical Surgery in India,' which was published in England and well received. My work also included the presidency of the Faculty of Medicine of the university, to which I had been re-elected. Latterly my health had begun to fail, and recurring attacks of malarial fever with complications had become troublesome. To my other duties had been added that of J.P., and much of my time had been occupied with researches into the question of snake-poisoning. Our two little boys had gone home, and our youngest son and daughter were born.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXPEDITION WITH THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH (1870).

Invited to accompany the Duke of Edinburgh on an expedition to the North-West—The party—Hog-hunting at Dewan Serai—Tiger-shooting in Maldah—Shooting with the Maharajah of Benares at Chukia—Lieutenant-Governor's durbar — Futtehpore Sikri — Bhurtpore — Deeg and its palaces—Fighting elephants—Ulwar—Tiger-shooting—Muttra—Delhi—Lahore—Meean Meer—Umritsur and its golden temple—Dhera Doon—Mussouri—Tea-planting—Lucknow—The Nepaul Terai, tiger-shooting—Sir Jung Bahadur and his elephants—The Prince Alamayou of Abyssinia—Return to Lucknow—Game killed in the Terai—Jubbulpore—Meeting with the Viceroy and opening of a new branch of the railway—Return to Calcutta.

On the 1st of January the Viceroy invited me to accompany the Duke of Edinburgh on his travels through the North-West of India. I made acquaintance with the Duke, took H.R.H. to the hospital, and showed him all that was to be seen there. Our party consisted of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, K.G.; Major-General Sir Neville Chamberlain, K.C.B.; Colonel Sir Seymour Blane, Bart.; Lieutenant Lord C. Beresford, H.M.S. Galatea; Colonel Probyn, C.B., V.C.; Colonel C. Fraser, C.B., V.C.; the Hon. Eliot Yorke, equerry; Lieutenant A. Haig, R.E.; Captain John Clerk, equerry; Dr Watson, Staff Surgeon, R.N., H.M.S. Galatea; Dr Fayrer, C.S.I.; Mr N. Chevalier, artist. Later on the party was joined by Colonel

Reilly, R.A., C.B., and Captain Bradford, Central India Horse.

On the 7th of January we went to Azimgunge and drove to camp at Dewan Serai. We started the next morning with a line of twenty-eight elephants. After beating for some time a boar was turned out of the long grass, and Mr A. Hills got the first spear; but the pig shook it out, made a charge at the nearest horse, and was speared by Colonel Probyn. During the day two more good boars fell—one to Major Trevor's and the other to the Duke's spear. The hunt went merrily on till the evening, when, at the death of the last pig, a sad accident occurred. A gallant little Arab got one of his hind-feet into a hole and snapped the leg just above the pastern joint. Even after this he tried to go, with the fractured bones protruding through an extensive wound. As to save him was impossible, he was shot.

On the 10th a boar was found which gave a good run and received the first spear from Probyn: turning sharply, he charged, broke through the line of elephants, and finally escaped—though wounded—into some dense bamboo jungle and deep ravines. During the afternoon two boars were killed. The Duke and Mr A. Hills got first spears. The following day we moved to Turtipore, in Maldah, but had very little sport.

On January 12 we beat the extensive grass jungle of Serajpore and found a young tigress which made a brave charge, but could not break the line, and soon fell: the Duke gave the fatal shot. She was scarcely padded before a second tigress was started and quickly killed. After lunch we went to the ancient city of Gour, and after inspecting the ruins of the Sona Musjid, struck off across the swamps towards the camp at Sookerbarri.

Jan. 13.—We rode about three miles to the Mahanuddi. The beat commenced with a line of forty-five elephants over an extensive grassy undulating plain, such as is common in this part of Maldah, a district characterised by picturesque groups of magnificent trees, chiefly of the Indian fig tribe.

Very soon a tiger was seen making for a nullah with water and long grass, several hundred yards ahead. He rose close under the Duke's elephant, which was in the centre of the line, and a few shots were fired, but apparently without effect. He was seen to cross the nullah and enter the grass, but was too far off for a shot. The line came up, but meanwhile he had sneaked off and was not seen again. After a halt under a tree scored with the marks of tigers' claws the line beat in the direction of the camp at Alumpore, but we got very little game.

Jan. 15.—Soon after leaving Bahadorgunge we beat over another extensive grassy plain in which much game was seen. We halted under a beautiful group of trees near a picturesque and wild-looking ghât, down which the tigers, that abound in the ruins and jungle of Gour, come nightly to drink and to seek for food. We then passed through the station of Maldah and on to Amirtee.

Jan. 16.—We rode to Mr Cumming's house at Muttrapore, then to a ferry on the Ganges, where the horses were crossed in small boats. From Rajmahal we went by train to Benares, and were received by the commissioner and the Maharajahs of Jeypore, Benares, and Vizianagram. We went down the river to obtain a view of the city, and then landing at one of the ghâts, walked through the narrow streets, and inspected the bazaars and temples on our way to the commissioner's house. Benares is crowded with pilgrims who have come to bathe in the holy river, as there is to be a total eclipse of the moon this evening. There was a levée, when a Sanscrit address was presented by the Maharajah of Benares, Rajah Sir Deo Narain Sing, and others. After dinner we went on the river to see the illumination of the ghâts and the bathing of the pilgrims. This morning a quantity of light baggage was despatched to Chukia, a hunting seat of the maharajah about twenty-five miles from Benares, just where the Vindhyan chain of hills crops up from the plain. This is a preserve for big game.

On the 18th the Duke, the Viceroy, with Sir N. Chamberlain and some other members of the suite, left Benares early in the morning, and on the way visited the Maharajah of Vizianagram; thence by Ramnughur Ghât, where the Maharajah of Benares met them, on to the neighbouring jungle, where a *hankwa* commenced. The Viceroy and the maharajah were in one *machan*, the Duke and the maharajah's son in another with Colonel Fraser. Only one tiger was seen: the Duke wounded him, and with others followed him on foot and traced him for a considerable distance by the blood; but as it was getting late and dark they were obliged to relinquish the chase.

Jan. 19.—This morning some of the party went out before breakfast in search of the wounded tiger, but returned without having had any success. Later the Duke and Viceroy inspected native schools in the village of Chukia, and immediately afterwards went to the jungle on the banks of the river Kurmnassa for a *hankwa*. At convenient places seats surrounded by green branches were placed, where the sportsmen took their posts and waited until the game should be driven in their direction. The bag consisted of one boar, two spotted deer, and a stag and hind sambhur. It was dark before we reached camp, and the return to the tents through the narrow passes and ravines, lighted by torchmen, was very picturesque.

Jan. 20.—The Duke brought home two fine sambhur stags and two spotted deer this morning. The drive was in the direction of the bed of the Kurmnassa river, and it was very picturesque when the deer made their appearance on the brow of the river bank before they descended into the hollow where they were shot. The Duke on taking leave of the maharajah presented him with a beautiful silver vase. We arrived at Agra the next day, drove to visit Itimād-ud-Dowlah's tomb, and returned to a state dinner. The weather is very bright, clear, and exceedingly cold, with the thermometer down to the freezing-point at night. The

sun is powerful in the day, and the contrast of the midday and midnight temperature is great.

Jan. 22.—The Duke, accompanied by Sir W. and Lady Muir, visited the fort and Moti Musjid. A durbar was held, at which the Nawab of Rampore, the Rajah of Vizianagram, and others were presented. In the evening the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Muir accompanied us to the Taj, where a magnificent display of fireworks took place. A number of native chiefs, among whom were many who had done good service in the Mutiny, were presented by the Lieutenant-Governor.

We left Agra on the 25th and drove to Bhurtpore, stopping at Futtehpore Sikri on the way. On the frontier the Duke was met by the Maharajah of Bhurtpore, Captain Blair, Dr Harvey, and others, with a large retinue. Some jungle was beaten, and a few antelope and wild pigs, with numerous nylgye and peacock, were seen. The nylgau is a true antelope, but as its external configuration is somewhat like that of the bovine tribe, the Hindoos regard it as too sacred to be destroyed. After beating through the jungle until nearly dark, we reached the station of Bhurtpore.

Jan. 26.—We started early for Deeg, passing through the picturesque stone-built streets of Bhurtpore. The palaces of Deeg consist of a series of stone buildings, placed in a quadrangle, and were built by Soorj Mull. These are known as the Gopal, the Nund, the Kishen, and the Mutchi Bhowans. In the Nund Bhowan, which was beautifully decorated with chandeliers, mirrors, fountains, and rich carpets and screens, a nautch was held after dinner. A variety of gold embroidered clothing, jewellery, and elaborately cut ivory and sandal-wood chowries and other works of Bhurtpore, were offered as *nuzzurs*.

Jan. 27.—This morning we set out for Manato, on the way to Ulwar. Near the town we dismounted, and ascending a high earthen mound, witnessed an elephant fight on the plain below.

Jan. 28.—We left camp early and travelled on towards

Ulwar. At the boundary of this state we were met by the maharajah, and went towards the next camp at Salpore, shooting and coursing on the way. The camp is now very large, owing to the presence of the two Maharajahs of Ulwar and Bhurtpore, with their followers.

Jan. 29.—We left camp at Salpore this morning and rode to the foot of the low range of hills. At a very wild and picturesque-looking spot where the maharajah has built a shooting-box, we heard that a leopard had just been seen on the hillside stalking a cow, but we did not get it. Remounting, we rode on to the encamping-ground at Silisere, a village at the foot of an amphitheatre of hills. At this season they are quite brown, as the low scrubby jungle on each side is for the most part dry and leafless. The water which drains from the ravines and hills is here collected into a lake about a mile long by an artificial bund, and from it stone aqueducts lead for miles over the country distributing water for irrigation. On a promontory overhanging the lake the maharajah has built a most charming house. Here there is generally a delightful breeze, and during the hot winds it must be comparatively cool. The lake is stored with fish, and large crocodiles abound, one of which not long ago seized a horse while drinking, dragged it down, and destroyed it.

Jan. 30.—It was intended to halt to-day, and the Duke and I walked out to see the lake and aqueducts. We saw a large crocodile and wounded it; but as the water was deep it made its escape, although a man followed and drove his spear into it. News came that a tiger had been found on a hillside, and that it was being watched and surrounded. After a fatiguing climb, each took his post, and the beat commenced. The Duke got the first shot. The tiger then went down the ravine, and not being seen for a little time, was supposed to be dead; but he was soon in motion again, and after charging, went on, growling. He again became quiet for a moment, then rushed out and charged Sir N. Chamberlain, whose rifle at this critical moment missed

fire! The dogs had fortunately been loosed, and, rushing in, turned him off when within a few feet of Sir Neville. Badly injured, with a broken foreleg among other wounds, he turned back into the ravine, all of them tugging vigorously at him. He knocked over several, but did not kill any, and a few more shots finished him. He was a fine tiger. We then drove to the maharajah's garden-house at Ulwar.

Jan. 31.—This morning the Duke inspected some of the maharajah's stud, chiefly Kattyawar horses, fine animals, trained in the peculiar shuffling amble so much liked by the natives. Fighting quails, partridges, bulbuls, and black bucks were also exhibited.

Feb. 2.—The Duke took leave of the maharajah on the confines of the Ulwar territory, returned to Deeg, shooting on the way, and the next day visited the tombs of the Bhurtpore rajahs, magnificently carved stone buildings, raised on the spot where the deceased rajahs were burned, near the native city of Goverdhun, where we were met by the colonel and several officers of the 11th Hussars, and went in search of pigs and nylgye. After a long beat over a very promising country we drove into Muttra.

Feb. 4.—The Duke and some of the party went out shooting and hog-hunting; others went to visit the holy city of Bindrabun and the ancient temple of the Rajahs of Jeypore, which was partially destroyed by Aurungzebe.

Feb. 5.—The Duke took leave of the Maharajah of Bhurtpore, presenting him with a watch and dagger, and we drove to the Hattrass Road station, whence a special train took us to Delhi. Here Colonel S. Becher, commanding the troops, the deputy-commissioner, and others were waiting, and we drove off immediately to "Ludlow Castle." In the evening, accompanied by Colonel M'Neile, we went on elephants to the city, which was brilliantly illuminated. Triumphal arches in the Chandny Chowk and Dureeba, and up to the front of the steps of the Jumma Musjid, were one continuous blaze of Bengal lights and other forms of

illumination. From the Jumma Musjid we saw a grand display of fireworks. Many of the most interesting sites in connection with the siege of 1857 were pointed out by Sir N. Chamberlain.

Feb. 9.—We left Delhi on the evening of the 8th by train for Loodianah, which we reached early in the morning of the 9th, were met by General R. Taylor with other officers, and after inspecting the new bridge over the Sutlej, now nearly completed, went on to Lahore, where the usual ceremonies were observed.

Feb. 10.—An address was presented by the municipality, and visits were paid by the Maharajahs of Cashmere, Puttiala, Jheend, Nabha, the Nawab of Bhawulpore, a boy of eight years of age, the Rajahs of Kuppurtulla and Malair Kotla, and the Sirdar of Khulsia. The Duke paid a visit to the museum, then went on, escorted by a detachment of cavalry, to the city. On arriving at the Akhbari gate we were met by the native chiefs who had been presented in the morning; and mounting elephants, the Duke being in the howdah with the Maharajah of Cashmere, each member of the suite accompanying a chief in his howdah (I was with Nabha), we entered the city, and passing through its narrow and picturesque streets, where every house-top and window was crowded, went to the fort, entered the citadel, and rested for a time in the Summun Boorj, Runjeet Sing's residence, where tea was offered by the attendants of three nephews of the Ameer of Cabul, who for certain State reasons were temporary residents in the fort.

Feb. 11.—The Duke, having returned the visits of the native chiefs, spent the rest of the day in visiting Meean Meer and the Shalimar Gardens.

Feb. 12.—We left Lahore in the afternoon for Umritsur, where we were shown the chief manufactures, and in the evening drove through the city, which was well illuminated, considering the wind, and up one long street, the pavement of which was laid with white cloth, to the new clock tower; then on to the sacred tank and golden temple, where there

was a display of fireworks. The next day was occupied with the journey from Umritsur to Saharunpore.

Feb. 14.—There is a good view of the snowy range, Gungootri and Jumnootri being visible. The cool, crisp northerly breeze blowing from over the snow is invigorating and pleasant. It is impossible to conceive a more delightful climate than that of Saharunpore as it was then. The Duke visited the stud, and then drove on to Deyrah through the beautiful pass in the Sewalik Range, whence there was a charming view of the Himalayan snows, arrived in the evening, and was received by Mr Ross and Colonel Macpherson. I was deputed by Sir N. Chamberlain to take his place on the occasion of this visit to Mussouri. He remained (not being very well) at Saharunpore.

Feb. 15.—This morning the Duke inspected the Sirmoor battalion, drove to Rajpore, whence we rode up to Mussouri and Landour, where the officers of the convalescent depôt received his Royal Highness. After ascending the Lalterba, about 7500 feet above the sea, where there is a magnificent view of the snow, we drove back to Deyrah in time for dinner. The day was most favourable. The air was dry and bracing, but not unpleasantly cold; indeed the sun's rays made it rather inconveniently warm in ascending and descending the hill.

Feb. 16.—We breakfasted with Colonel Macpherson and the officers of the Sirmoor battalion at their charmingly situated mess-house, which is close to a tea-plantation, where we had the opportunity of seeing the plant growing, and the process of tea-making. We then started for Cawnpore, which we reached the next day.

Feb. 17.—After visiting the Memorial Gardens and well, a special train took us to Lucknow, where we were received by the chief commissioner and others, and several native chiefs.

Feb. 18.—This morning the members of the royal family of Oudh and a number of talukdars were presented by the chief commissioner. We went to the Residency, and were

received by Sir G. Couper and other survivors of the Lucknow garrison, who were drawn up in front of the old banqueting hall. I pointed out the various places of interest, and took the Duke over my old house. The Residency is kept in beautiful order, and noted spots are marked with a marble slab. Flower-gardens occupy the old scenes of strife and bloodshed. The ruins are carefully preserved and guarded from further decay. The number of survivors is but few, and has considerably diminished since they last assembled to meet Lord Lawrence. The weather is beginning to get warm, and the south-west wind loads the atmosphere with dust.

The next two days were occupied in sight-seeing and festivities, and on the morning of the 22nd we arrived at Seetapore, and went to our camp on the bank of the Mohaan, where we met Colonel Thompson, C.S.I., commissioner of Seetapore, and Captain Young, settlement officer. Sir Jung Bahadur, with a large retinue and many elephants, was encamped on the other bank of the river.

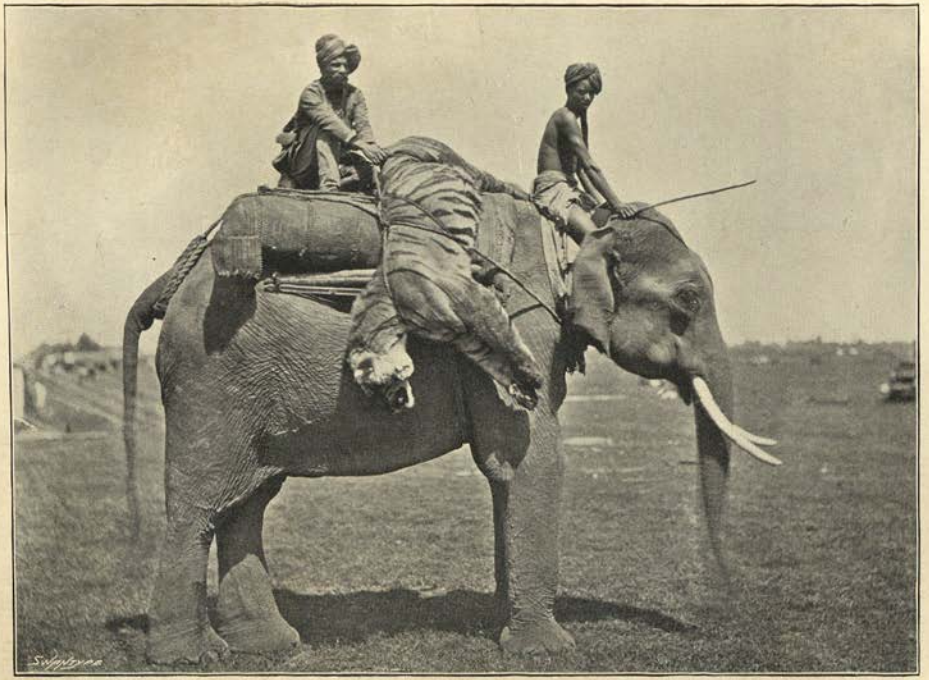
Feb. 23.—The Mohaan divides British from Nepaul territory: the tract of country on the opposite side was given to the Nepaulese after the Mutiny, and contains some of the finest forest-land in India. The gift was probably more valuable than at that time it was supposed to be. The royal standard of Britain is hoisted on one side, whilst that of Nepaul is on the other. The Mohaan abounds with crocodiles and gavials. One of Sir Jung's men, bathing in the river, was carried off and eaten by a crocodile. After breakfast the minister rode into camp with Colonel Lawrence, the political agent, Colonel Thompson, Captain Young, and eight principal sirdars, all colonels. The maharajah, who is a slight, active, and wiry-looking man of about fifty-three, with Mongolian features, was dressed in a military uniform and decorated with the Grand Cross of the Bath. His head-dress was made of the most costly jewels. The visit lasted only a few minutes, and shortly after, the Duke got into the howdah, and crossing the river,

was joined by the maharajah in a plain blue cotton shooting-dress, with a broad solah hat, and the Maharajah of Bulrampore in a similar dress. The party, with a line of above 400 elephants, went to an extensive grass and tree jungle, where a tiger had been marked down, and where during the last few days he had killed some buffaloes. On the way small game was shot, but on approaching the tiger, firing ceased. After beating through a belt of sâl forest, skirting the long grass, the line was gradually formed into a circle, and the elephants were brought so close as to touch each other. The circle being complete, the Duke, in the same howdah with Sir Jung, went in, and the tiger soon revealed himself, although the grass was very high, with occasional bare places. The Duke alone fired, the rest of the party being told not to do so unless the tiger got on any elephant's head. Being wounded, he made several charges; but the elephants stood firm, and he could not get out. He fell at the third shot, and proved to be a fine tiger, 10 feet 1 inch in length, and very heavy. It was a most exciting scene: the wildness of the place, the magnificent circle of elephants, and the steadiness with which they and their mahouts carried out the maharajah's orders were remarkable, though perhaps in a strictly sporting sense the tiger may be considered to have been rather hardly used. The Nepaulese elephants are well trained, and are so frequently employed by Sir Jung in tiger-shooting and elephant-hunting that they cannot be surpassed. They are worked by bugle call, and are taught to go at a pace that no other elephants can equal. After padding the tiger, general shooting commenced, and we returned to camp with a bag of about twenty deer, one tiger, and a quantity of small game. After dinner we sat round the camp-fire.

On *February* 24 we arrived in the new camp at Dhunpal, beautifully situated in a fine sâl-forest, on the banks of the Kundwarra, with a good bag of spotted and hog-deer, partridges, hares, jungle and pea-fowl, and florican. This morning one of the maharajah's camel-men was brought

in with a severe wound in the left thigh just above the knee. He was fording the river when he was suddenly seized and dragged down by a large gavial. Some sepoys who were close at hand rushed to the rescue and wounded the animal, which was dragged on shore and brought into camp with the man it had bitten. A portion of integument only, about 4 inches in circumference, had been torn away, leaving a painful wound. The gavial was over 16 feet in length. Its stomach contained about twenty or thirty pebbles of different sizes: these are useful for purposes of digestion, and are probably always found in the stomachs of these creatures. This incident quite settles the question whether the gavial takes other food than fish, albeit from the conformation of his jaws he is not able to inflict so severe a wound as the crocodile. After dinner a small elephant about three years old, which has been trained to go at great speed, and has been presented to the Duke by the maharajah, was brought into the tent to be inspected. He was evidently very nervous on finding himself in such a new and strange position, and groaned loudly in protestation. Sir Jung also sent a *nuzzur* of tiger-skins, a young tiger cub, some yaks' tails, musk pods, pieces of silk, and a variety of weapons, to be presented to the Duke, and a kookerie for each of the suite. An infusion of cinnamon was also sent, and reported on favourably.

Feb. 25.—The camps together must amount to 3000 or 4000 men, with about 500 elephants. Sir Jung has several very large and powerful male elephants which are used for catching the larger wild ones. They are kept at some distance from his camp, being fierce and sometimes dangerous. After breakfast three of the party went with Colonel Lawrence to Sir Jung's camp to see the Nepaulese feats of cutting wood with the kookerie, a heavy trenchant weapon, with a peculiar curve in the blade and short handle, with which, as Sir Jung said, they do everything—from cutting down a tree or killing a tiger to the finest work. One man cut across a piece of semel (cotton) wood 16 inches in



A PADDED TIGER.

circumference with one blow. Like many other things, it is easier than it looks, and as it is only done on soft green wood, the feat is not so very remarkable, and there is no doubt that any English swordsman would, with a week's practice with the kookerie, do it as well as the Nepaulese. Sir Jung himself is an adept, and he told us that he had on one occasion saved the life of an English officer by a cut with a kookerie just as a tiger was on the point of seizing him. We formed line in quest of a tiger, but he was not found, and general shooting commenced. The day was fine, and the heat moderate. The Nepaul hills were distinctly seen, and the scenery of the magnificent sâl-forest beautiful.

Feb. 26.—The Mohaan was recrossed, when a cowherd came up and said he had just seen a tiger kill a cow. The spot was enclosed by a circle of elephants. The tiger was soon afoot, and received a shot from the Duke. He made several attempts to break the line, but after some ineffectual charges he fell riddled with bullets. The temptation was strong, and several of the party fired. He proved to be a very fine male tiger, 10 feet 3 inches in length. Several peacocks were in the grass at the time, and being so confused that they could not escape, were caught by the mahouts and charcuttahs. The line moved on to the new camp at Pursooah.

Feb. 27.—We went out, on receiving *khubber* that a tiger had killed a cow, about eight miles from camp. After a tedious journey across grassy plains and nullahs, the kill was found, but no tiger was there, and the party returned to camp late in the evening. The only excitement of the day was the sticking of some of the elephants in the *phussun*, but beyond a little delay, and some inconvenience to the occupants of the howdahs, no evil resulted. The day was the hottest yet experienced, and very suggestive of what is soon coming.

Feb. 28.—We crossed to Sir Jung Bahadur's camp to take leave, and were received by the Nepaulese minister and his sirdars dressed in scarlet coats with epaulettes; and

by a regiment dressed in the British fashion, except the head-dress, which is a sort of turban with a crescent of brass over the forehead. Sir Jung conducting us to a durbar tent, the usual civilities were exchanged, and the Duke expressed his satisfaction with the minister's efforts to show him sport. Attar and pan were distributed, and we took leave. A buffalo was brought out to be decapitated, to show the prowess of the Nepaulese with the kookerie, but the delicate attention was declined, with thanks, and the buffalo escaped—for the time at all events. The line of elephants is now reduced to about 150. Two recent kills were found, and on the edge of the great nul swamp, known as Mujle-tal, the fresh foot-prints of a tigress and cubs were seen. The beat lay through sâl-forests, grassy plains, and glades. The camp is now at Surma-Gowrie, a cattle-grazing station with cultivation near it, and not very far from the edge of a small stream known as the Ghagi. The bag to-day consisted of some swamp, hog, and spotted deer, black partridges, snipe, hares, and a python 10 feet 9 inches in length.

March 1.—The camp moves again to-day to Newal-khar. The beat lay for some miles in a low grassy nullah, through which a small stream runs sluggishly. The sâl-forest skirts the banks of this stream, and there are frequent open spaces covered with long grass. It is impossible to conceive better cover for tigers, but none were found. The Duke, in crossing a strip of the sâl-forest, killed a splendid stag sambhur, and shortly afterwards an almost equally fine specimen of the gond or swamp deer.

March 2.—The Duke, accompanied by the rest of his suite, with some native gentlemen and the Nepaulese colonel in charge of the elephants, set off for the jungle. The beat commenced in a *khair* (catechu) forest and long grass, and the line was excited from end to end by the report that three tigers (a tigress and two full-grown cubs) were afoot. They soon made their appearance. One cub broke to the left of the line and was killed immediately; the others got away and were lost in the forest. After a long beat by the side of

a nullah, and through a nul-swamp, the search was abandoned, and a general beat commenced, during which a fair amount of game was shot, including a large python, 17 feet long and 24½ inches in circumference. It required six or eight men to lift it on to the pad. The line now beat on in another direction. The firing was brisk, and we had crossed to the other side of the patch of forest, when one of the pad elephants suddenly put up a small tiger. After a stampede across the plain, during which time he had doubled back into a patch of long grass among a herd of tame buffaloes, where he got considerably knocked about, he was overtaken and killed. This was evidently the other cub seen in the morning. They were 6 feet 6 inches and 6 feet 9 inches long respectively.

March 3.—We went out after breakfast in search of the tigress whose cubs were killed yesterday. On approaching a deep nullah bordered by forest and long grass the beat commenced. Two of the party crossed with some pad elephants and swept along the right side, whilst the remainder beat the left side of the nullah. They had not proceeded very far when a tiger was found and killed by the Duke and Colonel Thompson. He was only 9 feet 5 inches, but very strong and with enormous limbs and teeth. It was getting late, and we beat on over the low level plains that skirt the Terai to the camp at Morowcha Ghât on the Chowka. The next morning we left the Terai for Lucknow, and thence went on to Jubbulpore.

The Bag in the Oudh Terai.

5	tigers.	109	partridges.
1	sambhur.	32	pea-fowl.
2	gond (swamp deer).	14	jungle fowl.
1	nylgau.	4	florican.
32	spotted deer.	14	snipe.
37	hog-deer.	2	porcupines.
9	wild boars.	2	pythons.
41	hares.		
	Total . . .	305	

Including those in other parts of India, this made eight

tigers, three buffaloes, ten sambhur, two barasingha or gond, and two pythons.

The Duke was received at Jubbulpore by Colonel Spence, the commissioner, and went to the Residency house, where the camp of the Viceroy was pitched. The Duke received visits from the Maharajah Holkar, the Rajah of Punnah, Sir Salar Jung, and the Rajah of Nagode. In the evening the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay having arrived, the Duke proceeded to the junction of the two lines of rail, when the ceremony of completing their union was performed by torchlight, the Duke and the Viceroy driving in the last key which connected them. The communication was then declared open between the East and West of India. A banquet was given by the railway authorities in honour of the opening of the line, and on the following morning the Duke set off for Bombay.

Here I took leave and returned to Calcutta. His Royal Highness on parting presented me with a beautiful ring. He subsequently made me his physician in ordinary, and later, after my return to England, became at my request President of the Charing Cross Hospital.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE IN CALCUTTA—*continued*

(1870-1872).

Continuation of snake experiments—Offer my work on the poisonous snakes to the Government of India—Death of Sir Henry Durand—Tiger-shooting expedition to Purneah—Honorary Physician to the Queen—Accompany Lord Mayo on a shooting expedition to the Oudh Terai—Revisit Lucknow Residency with the Viceroy—Serious illness of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh—In danger from a must elephant—Tigress killed with a single shot—Game killed—Return to Calcutta—Attacked with fever—Chief Justice assassinated in Calcutta—Recurrence of serious illness—Visit the Viceroy at Barrackpore—Make the acquaintance of Lord Selkirk—Hog-hunting at Pangsa—Invited by the Viceroy to go to Delhi, but obliged to decline—Illness and death of Admiral Cockburn—Assassination of the Viceroy in the Andaman Islands—Assistance rendered to the Government of India in connection with this sad event—Recognition of it by the acting Governor-General—Arrival of Lord Napier of Merchiston to officiate pending Lord Northbrook's arrival—Preparations for my own departure for England on sick-leave—Leave Calcutta for England.

EARLY in 1870 a very fine specimen of *Ophiophagus elaps* was sent me from Rangoon, the first I had had, and I immediately began to investigate the nature and characters of its poison. I was also investigating the poison of *Bungarus cæruleus, B. fasciatus, Trimeresurus, Echis carinata, Enhydrina*, and other salt-water snakes. One of my snakemen was bitten by an echis when handling it incautiously: he grasped it too far behind the head, and it managed to twist

round and struck one fang into his thumb. As he let the snake fall I saw a drop of blood on his thumb. I seized his hand, put on a tight ligature at once, and cut out the bitten part: no evil results followed, except the inconvenience of the wound, which soon healed. This was the only accident that occurred during the time I was pursuing my investigations, though I had more than one narrow escape. My inquiries included the reputed efficacy of certain antidotes, but they all turned out to be futile. I was much interested in supervising at the School of Art the coloured figures of the snakes of which I made the preliminary sketches, the details being most skilfully and accurately worked out by native artists. The principal venomous snakes were drawn from life. My reports approaching completion, I offered the work as a gift to Government on condition that, if published, it should be done under my own supervision. Early in the following year the Government, having accepted my offer, defrayed the cost of the publication of the book, which I dedicated to Lord Mayo.

The year 1871 commenced with a sad fatality. A telegram reached me from the Punjab, of which Sir Henry Durand had shortly before been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, that he had met with a grievous accident, having been thrown from an elephant entering the fort of Tonk, and had been seriously injured. I immediately made arrangements to start by the next train, but another telegram informed me that he was dead, his neck having been broken by the fall. He was entering the fort on an elephant with the Rajah of Tonk, under a low archway. For some reason the elephant took fright and rushed through the archway, sweeping the howdah off, and its occupants fell to the ground. Durand's spine was broken high up: he was quite paralysed, though conscious. The rajah also was seriously injured. Durand lingered for a few hours, saw some of his family, and died bravely as he had lived. No juster, better man, or more faithful or able officer, ever served his country. It was inexpressibly sad, just as he had gained a post for which he was

so well fitted, and where he would have done so much good, that this should have happened. His death was greatly deplored, and his family and India suffered an irreparable loss. A meeting was held on the 9th of January at Government House for the purpose of initiating a memorial to him.

Early this year I went for another tiger-shooting expedition to Purneah, over very much the same country, on the banks of the Coosie, and we got four tigresses, ten buffaloes, and other game.

In March General Norman spoke to me about the appointment of Honorary Physician to the Queen, vacant by the death of Mackinnon. I was recommended, and got it shortly afterwards. The previous year I had been promoted to the rank of surgeon-major.

Early in April Lord Mayo told me he was about to make an expedition into the Terai, and invited me to accompany him. At Allahabad I joined him and his suite, and the next day we all arrived at Cawnpore. Lord Mayo having heard of the illness of General Barrow, the Commissioner of Oudh, asked me to go on to Lucknow to see him and to send a report; so Mr Barrow Ellis and I went off at once, and arrived at Lucknow to find poor Barrow unconscious. I informed Lord Mayo of his critical condition, and consequently the Viceroy entered Lucknow without any state or ceremony. I went with him over the Residency and showed him my old house and all the points of interest. I also paid a long visit alone to the Residency—I have always much to think of there—gathered some flowers from our old garden and sent them to my wife. Two days after this we reached our camp at Surma, forty-five miles beyond Luckimpore, and went out with a line of about fifty elephants.

Our party consisted of Lord Mayo; the Marquis of Blandford; the Hon. Colonel Leslie; Mr Marjoribanks; the Hon. Major Bourke; Mr Aitcheson, Foreign Secretary; Colonel Thompson, commissioner of Keerie; Captain Gregg, deputy commissioner; Captain Young, settlement officer; Captain Grant, A.D.C.; the Maharajah of Bulrampore; the Rajah

of Khyreghur, and two zemindars. On the 18th we met another shooting party who had come to meet us, consisting of the Hon. Robert Drummond, commissioner of Rohilkund, and friends. As these tiger-shooting trips much resemble each other, I will merely record some striking episodes of this one.

One day we went to see fish caught in one of the many branches of the Sarda. It was dammed across, and the fish driven into the enclosed space by a line of elephants walking shoulder to shoulder. The place enclosed was then dragged, and about five hundred fish of all kinds taken out—mahaseer, rohu, and others. Many were speared as they sprang out of the water; some were shot from the howdah. My elephant being close to the bank, I shot several. It was a most novel proceeding, fishing with a line of elephants! We had an adventure with a large *mukhna* which had become *must* and broken loose in camp. He became very savage, would not submit or obey orders, and took up a defiant attitude in the middle of the stream. Some powerful tuskers with spearmen on their backs were sent to drive him in. Lord Mayo and I on elephants were crossing the river a few hundred yards below where he was standing, when he charged us, sending the water flying in cascades: it was a nervous moment, as he was much bigger than either of our elephants. At this juncture two tuskers advanced up-stream to meet him. He would not give way, and fought them both: they struggled and pushed each other hard, and I think the *mukhna* would have had the best of it had the spearmen not been there. They managed to turn him at last, and he went up the stream at a rapid pace. We were very glad to see his back: we had our rifles ready, but they might have been of little use against such a big brute. The mahouts and our elephants were frightened, and tried to get away as fast as possible. The *mukhna* was caught next day and tied up.

Another day we had great sport, bagging five tigers. Aitcheson and I and some others went in one direction, Lord Mayo and the rest in another. Just as we met the ele-

ELEPHANTS CROSSING A RIVER.

phants put out a fine tigress. She bounded across an open space where the grass was quite short, allowing her to be fully seen. I got a snap-shot with a 12-bore round bullet; she made a somersault and fell dead, the bullet having passed through her neck. With the other barrel I fired at a second that followed her and wounded it. There was a general scrimmage, for no less than three tigers were on foot after the tigress fell, in this small place, and we got them all. Another tiger had been killed elsewhere, making five. My tigress was the mother of the other three, nearly full-grown cubs. The skin was preserved, and the skeleton, with the second or third cervical vertebra cut through, I lent to Huxley, and it is now in the South Kensington Museum. I had the claws made into a necklace for my wife.

The total amount of game shot during the thirteen days was 271 head, including 19 tigers, 3 leopards, 1 sambhur, 14 gond, 7 cheetul, and 1 python.

Soon after my return I was attacked with fever, and was laid up for several days. My health having been gradually deteriorating, I was beginning to realise the necessity of returning to England, and to make the necessary arrangements for so doing.

On the 20th of September, on my return from hospital in the morning, Mr A. Macpherson, one of the judges of the High Court, came to tell me that Mr Norman, the Acting Chief-Justice, had been severely wounded on entering the court by a native who rushed on him from among the crowd assembled at the door, and stabbed him in two or three places with a long Afghan knife. I went at once and found the poor Chief-Justice at a house close to the court, where he had been carried. He was mortally wounded: the long, sharp knife had entered the abdomen and struck against the spine in one place; in another it had penetrated behind the shoulder and passed down into the chest. He was faint and exhausted from the shock and from the loss of blood. I remained with him till the night, when I was overtaken by

another attack of fever, became very ill, and was relieved by Dr Ewart. I never saw my dear old friend again, for he died that night. The assassin was a Wahabi Mohammedan, a fanatic moulvie: he was captured, tried, and executed. The Chief-Justice was a kindly, warm-hearted man, and his death was much deplored. For some days I remained very ill, but towards the end of the month was able to get about again.

At the end of the year my old friend, Archdeacon Pratt, a great mathematician and a most able and excellent man, died of cholera at Ghazipore. He had written a great deal, especially on the reconciliation between science and Scripture.

On the 30th of December I went to Barrackpore to visit the Viceroy, and accompanied him on a hog-hunting expedition to Pangsa. Whilst at Barrackpore I made acquaintance with the Earl of Selkirk, and thus commenced a friendship which continued to the end of his life, and which was a great source of pleasure to me in every way. My experience in hog-hunting was never great: I always preferred shooting, but had one or two good rides on this occasion. Lord Mayo invited me to go with him to Delhi in January 1872, but my work was so heavy that I was unable to do so.

Admiral Cockburn, naval commander-in-chief, who had been staying at Government House with the Viceroy, had been taken very ill, and I went to see him in consultation with his own medical officer and the Viceroy's, and from this time saw him regularly. One evening at a full-dress reception at Government House, Lord Mayo, looking so well and handsome, told me that he was about to go on a visit to Burmah, and asked me to accompany him; but I explained that it was impossible for me to get away, having so much to do and preparations to make for going home, and therefore to my great regret was obliged to decline. When he shook hands and said good-bye just before he started, how little I thought when I next saw that kind, genial face how changed it would be! He had

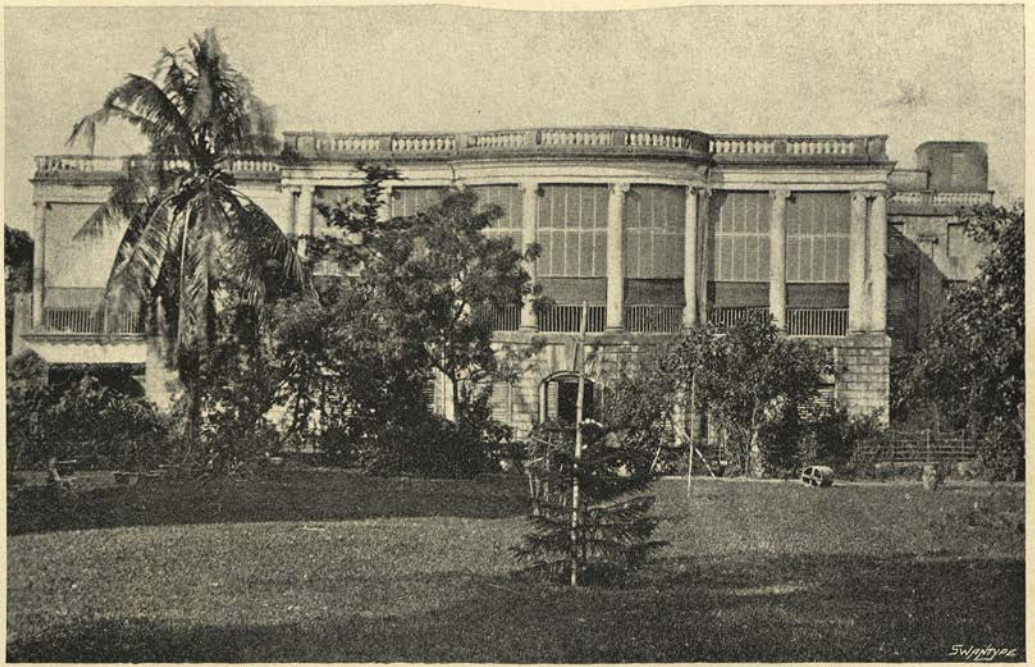
been deeply affected by the Chief-Justice's sad death, and talking to me about it one day, said, "The fact is, that if any man is prepared to give up his own life, no one would be safe from assassination." How singularly his own death illustrated the truth of his remark!

On the 24th of January Lord Mayo sailed for Rangoon in the flagship, leaving Admiral Cockburn sick at Government House, especially commending him to my care. Strange that Lord Mayo should have gone on board the Glasgow to die, and Admiral Cockburn remained at Government House to die, both within a few days of each other! On the 12th February the terrible news came that Lord Mayo had been assassinated in the Andaman Islands by a convict. He was returning to the ship at dusk, and when about to embark on the launch there was a sudden rush, and a man was seen to spring on to him and stab him two or three times with a long knife. He staggered into the boat and died almost immediately. The assassin, Amir Ali, was a Mohammedan from the North-West who had been transported for killing a man in a blood-feud. His conduct had been very good, and he consequently had been allowed a certain amount of liberty. He took advantage of this to avenge himself by taking the life of the head of the Government: he had no personal feeling against Lord Mayo, whom he had never before seen. He was tried and executed.

I soon received full details from Sir Henry Norman and Sir John Strachey, who asked me if I could help them in the matter of getting Lord Mayo's body brought to Calcutta and temporarily preserved. The next day I went to a meeting of the Supreme Council, told them how this could be done, and offered to do it. On the 15th Lady Mayo arrived in H.M.S. Daphne in Diamond Harbour, with Lord Mayo's body on board, and the next day I went with Dr J. Anderson in the steamer Nemesis, with a flat in tow, to meet the Daphne, and we anchored alongside her. A large wooden case had been made by the ship's carpenters, in which a leaden coffin filled with rum containing the body

had been enclosed. This was placed on the deck of the flat, round which a screen was drawn, opened, and the body examined. There were two wounds, either of which would have been fatal,—one above the clavicle, which no doubt caused almost immediate death. The face was changed beyond recognition. I had taken some clay for the purpose of making a mould of the features, but it was quite impossible to do this. Strong spirit and carbolic acid were freely used, and the body was replaced in the metal case. Thus prepared, it was retransferred to the Daphne, landed at Calcutta, and taken with great ceremony to Government House, where it lay in state in the central hall, which was draped in black, a very impressive sight. The papers were in mourning; general orders were published in the Gazette, giving an account of the sad event and all the formalities that had to be observed. After a few days the body was again removed in the Daphne to H.M.S. Glasgow, which took it home to be buried in Ireland.

As a friend of Lord Mayo I was invited to take a prominent part in all these sad ceremonies, and few regretted him more than I did. I saw poor Lady Mayo, who was very kind, and gave me one of Lord Mayo's guns as a souvenir of my good and kind friend. She was about to proceed to England also. What a sad return! Before leaving I received a very kind letter from Sir John Strachey, Acting Governor-General, thanking me for such services as I had been able to render with regard to Lord Mayo, and on the part of the Government of India presenting me with a beautiful chased silver goblet and two cups inlaid with gold, with the inscription, "Presented to Surgeon-Major J. Fayrer, C.S.I., Q.H.P., by the Governor-General of India, in recognition of his invaluable services on the occasion of the lamented death of the Earl of Mayo, K.P., G.M.S.I., late Viceroy and Governor-General of India. February 1872." On the 23rd Lord Napier of Merchiston came from Madras to act as Viceroy until the arrival of Lord Northbrook.



DR FAYRER'S HOUSE IN CHOWRINGHEE, CALCUTTA.

On taking leave of the Female European Orphan Asylum, a school in which I had been much interested, I presented to it a sum of money to found a yearly prize to be given to the best, not the cleverest, girl in the school.

I was preparing for a long absence, which proved to be a permanent one. My official duties were to be carried on by my friend Partridge, and my private practice to go to whomsoever the patients selected. A farewell dinner-party was given to us by some of our friends: we were at the time staying with the Duffs. On the morning of the 29th of March we embarked on board the Indus. Many friends were at the ghât and on board the steamer to say good-bye. Poor old Jowrie, our faithful jemadar, was there, and was very sad at parting with us. It was a very melancholy and touching ordeal to go through, and I felt very much parting with so many kind friends, leaving the country where the best part of my life had been spent, and giving up my active and useful work, though I well knew my health was too much broken down to allow me to continue any longer,—indeed many thought I had stayed too long. It was very unfortunate that my health had given way, for I had got into large practice, and had I been able to remain could have provided well for my family. I received many kind letters and tokens of friendship and regard from those among whom I had worked for thirteen years. I was a little over forty-seven years of age, and hoped that change to England would restore my health. We had our two youngest children with us and a Portuguese nurse. The last figure we saw as we left the ghât was poor old Jowrie standing on the bank, looking very disconsolate; but it was a consolation to know that our friend Ewart took him into his service. I allowed him a pension.

On the 1st of March I made over to the pilot the official report of my departure from India, and we steamed away from the Sandheads with a fresh breeze and smooth water.

CHAPTER XV.

RETURN TO ENGLAND AND LIFE THERE (1872–1875).

Journey home—Make acquaintance with the Duke of Sutherland—Visit my children — My old home in Westmorland — Return to London — Visit the India Office and make the acquaintance of the Duke of Argyll and other authorities there — The 'Thanatophidia' published — The Army Medical School at Netley — Southsea — Elected Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians—Edinburgh and Dunrobin Castle—Stalking and grouse-shooting—Meet the Queen at Dunrobin—Visit to Perth—Kinross, Lochleven Castle, Turfhills — Visit Lord Selkirk at St Mary's Isle, shooting — Take a house in London — New acquaintances — Appointed member of Medical Board at India Office—Visit the Continent with my wife—Meet the Shah of Persia and his physician—Visit Dr Acland at Oxford—Cooper's Hill College—British Medical Association at the Mansion House—Make the acquaintance of Baron Langenbeck—Visit Lord and Lady Lawrence at Brocket Hall—Scotland, shooting—New house in Granville Place — Further extension of leave — Norfolk, shooting—Visit Petworth—Fellow of Zoological Society—Minute on famine disease—Visit my old school—Scotland, shooting—Resignation of Sir Ranald Martin—Appointed President of the Medical Board—Resign active service—Despatch from Government of India respecting my services—Invited to accompany the Prince of Wales to India as his physician —Address students at opening of Army Medical School—Visit Sandringham—Visit the Serapis with Admiral Sir William Mends—Commanded by the Queen to visit her at Osborne—Receive her Majesty's instructions for expedition to India—Visit Westmorland and Scotland, shooting and deer-stalking—Visit Duke of Cambridge in reference to Indian voyage —Visit Princess of Wales to receive her instructions.

ON the voyage home I made the acquaintance of the Duke of Sutherland, and thus began a friendship which lasted throughout his life. We left the steamer at Brindisi and travelled home through Italy, stopping at Naples, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan, by the Italian lakes, over the Simplon, the Lake of Geneva, Basle, Brussels, and Ostend. I had the pleasure of showing these places to my wife for the first time and renewing my own acquaintance with them. In Rome I met my old friend Dr Pantaleone again, and also made the acquaintance of Professor Corradi and saw him operate. At Naples, Professor Palmieri showed me the seismic instruments on Vesuvius, the mountain being in a state of agitation, which soon culminated in a severe eruption, destructive of life and property.

As our two eldest boys were at Rugby we took up our headquarters there, and when we had seen the other children, who were with friends and relatives, we went to see my grandfather's house at Harmony Hill, in Westmorland, and Ashmeadow, my maternal grandmother's home. After our seven children had all met in the presence of their father and mother for the first time, we took rooms in London until we went to Southsea for the summer. During this time I renewed my relations with many old friends, made some new ones, and was kindly received by the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, who spoke highly of my services and the 'Thanatophidia.' This book was published by the Government of India, which amply fulfilled its promise of bringing it out in the most effective way, and was well received and reviewed. The Government gave me fifty copies for myself and fifty to distribute: I gave them all away but one.

The Army Medical School at Netley, founded since I went to India, was naturally an object of interest to me, and I was glad to accept the invitation of the professors to go there and see it at work, and make the acquaintance of Parkes, Longmore, Maclean, and Aitken. This school was

the outcome of the inquiry that took place as a result of the Crimean war, and certainly supplies a want then much felt by the medical service.

I was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians but had not yet begun any professional work, though I was visiting the hospitals and medical schools, and began a series of investigations into the nature and action of snake poison with Dr Lauder Brunton, whose acquaintance I had recently made. At the end of August I left for Edinburgh, went to see my old friends the professors, and made some new acquaintances, going on thence to Dunrobin Castle on a visit to the Duke of Sutherland. This was my first experience of the Highlands north of Perth, and the scenery of the Highland line charmed me much. I met with a very kind reception from the Duke and Duchess, and found many visitors at the Castle. I went out on the moors and shot my first grouse: we killed twenty-five brace, of which a fair share fell to me, a brace of black game, some blue hares, and rabbits. On another day I went out with Kennedy the stalker, a gillie, and two staghounds. After a long stalk over the hill near Loch Brora and Clashmore, I killed a stag, on the way home got two more, right and left, and was delighted with the result of my first day on the "hill."

The same day the Queen arrived on a visit to Dunrobin. At the dinner-party that evening there were Lord and Lady Granville, the Marchioness of Westminster, Lord Ronald Gower, Lady Churchill, Sir W. Jenner, and others. On Sunday there was service in the castle by the Rev. Dr Cumming, at which the Queen was present. After dinner I was presented to the Queen and Prince Leopold by the Duchess: her Majesty talked to me for some time about India and the Duke of Edinburgh and his travels, and subsequently gave me her photograph. The next day the Queen laid the foundation-stone of a monument to the late Duchess of Sutherland, and made a most appropriate speech. The monument is in the grounds near the castle. Amongst the visitors to the castle that day were my old friends

Major and Mrs Charles Weston, whom I had not seen since before the siege of Lucknow, Sir H. Rawlinson, and Mr Stanley the African traveller. The Queen again talked to me about Lucknow, my family, and Sir Henry Lawrence: her Majesty was very gracious and kind.

Sir H. Rawlinson and I went out grouse-shooting together, and killed twenty brace. He was a very agreeable companion and very learned in everything, but especially in oriental subjects. I enjoyed my visit very much, and nothing more than the stalking with old Kennedy. He was a simple old Highlander, very good, honest, and unsophisticated, and a real sportsman: he knew his business thoroughly, and was rightly considered one of the best stalkers in Scotland. These men's powers of walking are wonderful from long training and constant practice, whilst their quickness in seeing distant deer, and the skill with which they approach this most wily of all creatures, are wonderful. Kennedy was a delicate man over fifty, his lungs were diseased, and he died in 1876 of consumption, yet he could walk me off my legs with the greatest ease! He was so courteous and patient, so attentive, so manly and straightforward, and such a thorough gentleman!

I left Dunrobin early on the morning of the 12th, and on arriving at Perth found my old Calcutta friend Mr Michael Henderson, who drove me through the beautiful pass of Glenfarg to Turfhills, Kinross, his brother's place. The following day we went into the town of Kinross and by boat to the ruined square tower of Lochleven Castle. The place was interesting and the scenery very beautiful. I left that night for London.

At the end of the month I went to St Mary's Isle, where Lord Selkirk gave me a most hospitable reception. On the 28th we went out shooting: it was blowing a gale of wind with heavy showers. We killed twenty-one brace of partridges, seven hares, and some rabbits. Lord Selkirk was a most delightful companion, full of information, very scientific, a good geologist, and learned in the folk-lore of

the country. He never allowed the birds or the game upon the isle to be molested. It was a picturesque old place, formerly a dependency of Holyrood, and had long been in Lord Selkirk's family: he lived there quite alone. It is now a peninsula, having been connected with the mainland by his grandfather. Amongst many other interesting relics were some pieces of plate which had been carried off by Paul Jones, the American pirate, but which were afterwards restored and are known as Paul Jones's plate. This man was a native of Kirkcudbright, and of course knew the locality well: the place where he landed is still pointed out. He went to the house and carried off the plate without injuring any one.

We paid a visit to Dundrennan Abbey, where Mary Queen of Scots spent the night after the battle of Langside, —a fine old ruin. It must have been a great monastery in those days.

We went out shooting every day and got large bags of partridges, many hares and rabbits, occasional snipe and wild duck, and a few pheasants in the early part of October. On the 12th I took leave of my kind host, and on the way to London stopped at Rugby to say good-bye to the Eldridges, who were about to return to America.

Having to visit a friend at Eastbourne, I went on to the High Beach, Hollington, to see Captain and Mrs Lewis, the Miss Rodick of my early days, whom I had not seen since 1846, when at Ashmeadow.

We had taken a furnished house in London; I had become a member of the Medical Society, and had read a paper there upon "European Child Life in Bengal," which gave rise to an interesting discussion, was engaged upon another book, 'Clinical and Pathological Observations in India,' and contributed frequently to the medical journals.

In February 1873 I was appointed member of the Medical Board at the India Office, of which Sir Ranald Martin was the president. The Board consisted of three—Sir Ranald, myself, and a member from the Army Medical Department,

ST MARY'S ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

I in return serving on the Army Medical Board. I had also joined the Pathological and Royal Medical and Chirurgical Societies, and attended their meetings fairly regularly, as also those of the Medical Society.

At the end of May my wife and I determined to pay a visit to the Continent, and we began with Dinan, where I wished to see the house in which my father and mother had lived and died, and also their graves. We remained for about a week in Paris, and then went to Switzerland, seeing some of the chief towns, the glaciers, and the mountains, working our way back by the Lake of Constance, the Black Forest, and the Rhine to Brussels, where we were much interested in the field of Waterloo, over which we were taken by an old sergeant who had been in the battle.

At a garden-party at Argyll Lodge I met the Shah of Persia, and that evening, dining with Sir Ranald Martin, Dr Tholosan, the Shah's physician; and at Oxford, when on a visit to Dr Acland, I met some more interesting people, amongst them Ruskin, Henry Smith, and Rolleston.

At the end of July the distribution of prizes at Cooper's Hill took place. An old friend of mine, Colonel G. Chesney, was the principal, and I was much interested in all I saw there.

Early in August there was a very crowded reception by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House of the British Medical Association, and the next day, at a dinner-party at Mr MacCormac's, I met Baron Langenbeck, the great surgeon, and soon after went with MacCormac, Mac-Kinnon, and Langenbeck to Greenwich, where at the Seamen's Hospital we went over a number of surgical operations.

My wife and I went to pay a visit to Lord and Lady Lawrence at Brocket Hall, near Hatfield, where we spent a few days, It is a lovely place, with a fine old park, and a lake where I fished and boated.

In September I again stayed with Lord Selkirk, and had some excellent sport: hares were very numerous, and we

got good bags, with a fair amount of other game. When at Dunrobin the Duke of Sutherland took me on his engine and carriage, which he drove himself, to see the steam-ploughs and agricultural improvements at Loch Shin, in which he took great interest, and on which he was spending a great deal of money in furtherance of his spirited attempts to reclaim rough ground.

We now began preparing for a move into a new house, 16 Granville Place, Portman Square, which had been occupied by the Duchess Sforza Cesarini, an acquaintance of former years in Rome.

My health had somewhat improved, but was still frequently disturbed by malarial attacks, and certain symptoms which had caused me anxiety at the beginning of the year still continued. My medical friends thought it advisable for me not to return to India yet, therefore I applied for extension of leave on medical certificate.

In December we went to pay a visit to Colonel and Mrs Boileau at Stanfield Hall, Wymondham, Norfolk. I shot my first tiger with Boileau, and Mrs Boileau and some of her children were in my house during the siege of Lucknow. It is a charming old English house with a moat, and some good cover-shooting in the vicinity. On the Monday we had a shooting-party of five guns, shot the covers near the house, and got a good bag of pheasants.

I was beginning to get some practice as a consulting physician, and of course did nothing else, but it came slowly. I missed my surgical work, of which I had done so much for so long; but having become a Fellow of the College of Physicians, etiquette forbade my undertaking any work of this kind.

Early in 1874 I went to Petworth to pay a visit to Lord Leconfield and Lady Mayo, and met several interesting people, among others Mr Doyle, the artist.

I now became a Fellow of the Zoological Society, frequently visited the Gardens, and attended the scientific meetings, which interested me much, and to which I some-

times contributed. Subsequently I became a member of the Council and vice-president, served on various committees, and attended the Thursday lectures in the museum when able to do so. Many of them were on important subjects, and by such authorities as Huxley, Sclater, and other men of science.

After a conversation at the India Office with Sir Lewis Mallet, the Under Secretary of State, on famine fever, I wrote a long minute on the subject for him, in reference to recent occurrences in India.

On the 11th of March London was *en fête* for the reception of the Duke of Edinburgh, who was returning with his bride, the Grand Duchess Marie of Russia. The Duke and Duchess, with the Queen, entered in state during a fall of snow!

I was interested in some lectures that were being given by Dr Murchison at the Royal College of Physicians on functional derangements of the liver; at a meeting of the Clinical Society I spoke upon the subject of pyæmia; and later on, at another meeting of the College of Physicians, Sir G. Burrows, Drs Murchison, Mouat, Cuningham, and myself drew up a memorial to Lord Salisbury on the subject of famine disease in India.

In August I went to Ayr to see my friends the Duffs, drove over to Dalrymple, my old school, and saw the haunts of my boyhood. I remembered the places perfectly well though I had not been there for thirty-five years. My old tutor was still the incumbent of the place. This visit was very interesting, recalling some of my younger days. I went from Ayr to my friends the Stirlings, at Muiravonside, and found there Lady Hamilton, widow of Sir William Hamilton. I visited Linlithgow Palace and church, where James saw the apparition that warned him not to go to Flodden. Now one can see how the priest, or whoever played the ghost, managed the deception and escaped through a secret passage. On my way back I stayed at Hopetoun House and with Lord Selkirk, where I had the

usual shooting. I was then summoned back to London to see Sir John Kaye, who was very ill.

In October I had an interview with Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, who talked to me about my prospects and was very kind: though committing himself to no promise, he said he would do all he could for me. In November I heard that Sir Ranald Martin had sent in his resignation as president of the Medical Board,[1] and I was offered the appointment on certain conditions, my practice not to extend to any servant of the Indian Government so long as he was on the effective list. I accepted the appointment, but its value was fearfully prejudiced by this new rule. I immediately gave up the idea of returning to India, though with considerable regret, and sent in my resignation of the effective Indian service, retiring upon a pension of £365 a-year, and on the 8th of December took my seat as president. I was appointed member of the senate of the Army Medical School at Netley, and a little later member of the Army Sanitary Committee. I had retired as Deputy Surgeon-General, but was now gazetted as a Surgeon-General with local rank, which rank was ultimately confirmed on my retirement from the India Office. I had now just completed my fiftieth year, so on the whole had not done so badly; but the expense of living in London was very great, and my income from pension and other sources very limited.

Early in 1875 I made the acquaintance of Dr Sutherland, the right hand of the Army Sanitary Committee, who explained to me the working of this committee and its importance in connection with India, which Colonel Yule and I represented on it. About this time I wrote a long minute for the India Office upon Fox and Farquharson's report on skin diseases in India, and had a conversation with Sir Thomas Pears on matters connected with the Board and improvements and changes that appeared to me necessary. One of my duties as president of the Medical Board

[1] He died within a few days, and I subsequently wrote his life.

was to inspect the Royal India Asylum at Ealing every three months, and very sad it was to see so many poor fellows who had become deranged, frequently from climatic causes.

On the 28th of February a very favourable despatch concerning me from the Government of India was received on my retirement and forwarded to me by the Secretary of State.

In March General Probyn came to see me about the Prince's projected visit to India, and a note from Sir T. Pears informed me that the Prince of Wales had expressed a wish that I should accompany him, and that Lord Salisbury desired to know if I would undertake the duty. I replied immediately that I would do so with pleasure, saw Lord Salisbury and had a long conversation with him about the Prince of Wales's projected visit, the time to start, the climate, and other matters germane to the subject. I also saw Sir Bartle Frere, who was going with the Prince, and wrote a memo for the Queen and for Lord Salisbury on the Indian climate, which I showed to Sir W. Jenner, the Queen's physician, and Sir W. Gull.

On the 31st I went to Netley to the opening of the Army Medical School for that session. Dr Aitken gave the introductory address, after which, at the request of Dr Parkes and others, I addressed the students.

On the 15th of April I had a letter from Mr F. Knollys, private secretary to the Prince of Wales, asking me to pay H.R.H. a visit at Sandringham, and on the 17th I went down with the Prince and Princess. We arrived in the evening, and I walked about the grounds with the Prince, who showed me the kennels, the garden, the dairy, and the grounds generally. At dinner I sat next the Princess, who talked to me very kindly—a great deal about India, of course. The Princess had a most sweetly gracious and winning manner. After dinner we went to the smoking-room and the bowling-gallery, where H.R.H. was very genial and in high spirits, apparently very much interested in the approaching Indian expedition. On Sunday I went to church with their Royal Highnesses, and in the afternoon

drove over with the Prince and party to Lynn, where he opened the newly repaired church of St Mary after a special service. I returned to town the next day.

I was now presiding over a committee at the India Office to inquire into the supply of drugs and medical stores for India. The actual system was a very costly one, and called for reduction. On completing our report—a very elaborate one, which made great changes, and subsequently brought about great improvement and considerable reduction in expenditure—I recommended that Dr F. N. Macnamara, who had served on the committee, should be appointed permanently to supervise that department.

Early in May I had a consultation with Admiral Sir W. Mends, which was followed by several others, about the fitting up of the Serapis, the ship in which we were to go to India, and shortly afterwards went with Sir B. Frere and a party to Portsmouth to inspect her. We had the opportunity on this occasion of seeing the ships that were fitting out for Captain Nares's expedition, the Alert and Discovery. We went all over them and saw the preparations for clothing, feeding, and traversing the ice, and made the acquaintance of Captains Nares and Stevenson, the commanders of the two ships. The following day we went over the Vesuvius, torpedo-boat, and the royal yacht, Victoria and Albert. On one of my last visits to the Serapis with Sir William Mends we met the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, the Duke of Cambridge, and others. We all visited the Arctic ships again and wished them good-bye; they were on the point of starting. Afterwards there was a large lunch-party at Sir H. Doyle's, the commander-in-chief at Portsmouth.

On the 29th of May I attended a full-dress dinner at Lord Salisbury's for the Queen's birthday, and an "at home" at Lady Salisbury's with my wife afterwards. These ceremonial visits were continued every year as long as I remained in office.

I went to Milford to pay a visit to Mrs Greville, where

I met Probyn, Mr Irving, and Mrs Thellusson. Mr Irving was a most agreeable companion, and seemed much interested in talking about his own profession. Probyn and I had long conversations about the coming trip to India. Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, desired also to see me on the subject of the Prince's visit to Ceylon.

Sir W. Jenner communicated to me the Queen's command that I should go to see her Majesty at Osborne, and on the 17th of August I went to Southampton and crossed in H.M.S. Elphin, Captain Ballaston, an old Bermuda friend. Prince Leiningen was also on board, and we arrived together at Osborne in the afternoon. I was presented to the Queen by Sir Henry Ponsonby and had a long interview, in which her Majesty told me all her wishes about the journey. The Queen asked me many questions about the climate, modes of living, the various places we were to visit; told me on no account to let the Prince expose himself to danger from cholera or other disease, desired me always to be with him, and told me to write to her direct. The next morning I crossed to Portsmouth, and had another inspection of the Serapis before returning to town.

Early in October I went to see H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge at Gloucester House: he was kind and gracious, and talked much about the coming trip and its responsibilities and anxieties. On the 5th of October I attended my last Board at the India Office before leaving and made over my duties to Surgeon-Major Paul. At an interview with the Princess of Wales at Marlborough House, I received her wishes and instructions, and promised to do all in my power to carry them out. I then saw the Duchess of Sutherland and wished her good-bye, and in the evening saw the Prince of Wales with Sir W. Gull, his physician, and repeated all the advice I had previously given the Prince.

It was anxious work leaving home on this expedition, for I had some misgivings as to my health, but did not

undertake it without the sanction of my medical advisers, and was pleased to have been selected for so responsible a duty. I knew there would be difficulties, but was quite prepared to meet them, and was determined to be very careful in giving advice and in having it carried out when given. All seemed to promise well, but of course the results were uncertain. The chances of disease and accident amongst so large a party, travelling through such a variety of climates, were very present to my mind, and also the difficulties likely to arise from cholera or other epidemic disease, of which, indeed, rumours had already reached me.

During this period I was occupied in literary and experimental work of various kinds; had brought out another volume on disease in India, and a small book on the natural history of the tiger, besides writing articles for Quain's 'Dictionary of Medicine' and contributing to the medical journals. In conjunction with Dr Brunton I was continuing researches into the physiological action of snake-poison, and our joint paper was read by Huxley at the Royal Society. I had also made elaborate dissections of the rattlesnake's poison apparatus and of the feline claw, and by way of recreation was reading the Greek Testament with one of my sons, and giving popular science lectures to the other children. I became a member of the Epidemiological Society and was offered the presidentship, but was obliged to decline, being on the point of leaving for India.

The medical world was interested in 1873 by the case of the Emperor Louis Napoleon, who died at Chiselhurst after a surgical operation.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA.

Leave England—Embark on board the Serapis at Brindisi—Arrangements of the ship—List of the suite—Visit to Greece—Reception there—The King and Queen—Athens—Visit Tatöi Palace—Acropolis—Port Said—Cairo—Gezireh Palace—The Khedive—Suez and the Red Sea—Aden, reception there—The Indian Ocean—Reception at Bombay—Ships of war in attendance—Reports of cholera from Southern India—Question of modification of route—Poona—Baroda—Wild-beast fights—Hog-hunting—Quail-shooting—Return to Bombay—Ceremonies there—Leave Bombay for Goa—Visit to Old Goa—Arrive at Ceylon.

We left London on the 9th of October and embarked in the Serapis at Brindisi on the 16th. The ships of war saluted as we went out of harbour. The Serapis was one of the Indian troop-ships. She was painted white, with a line of gold beading round her, and the stern and bow decorated with the insignia of the Star of India. The entire upper or spar deck was clear, except for the deck-house. The great saloon on the second deck was devoted entirely to the Prince's cabins, and to the dining- and drawing-rooms. On the third deck were the cabins of the suite, on each side of the ship: they were large, and each had two ports, so that there was plenty of light and ventilation. All the centre cabins having been removed, the rest of the deck was an open space, and along it the grand entry passed from one of the great side-ports. There was a long walk, protected from the weather, which was much appreciated when it was wet

and stormy. There was a marine band from Portsmouth, and also a guard of honour of marines and marine artillery, and the crew were all picked men.

The Serapis was commanded by Captain the Hon. H. Carr Glyn, C.B., A.D.C. Dr Watson, who was surgeon of the Galatea, with the Duke of Edinburgh, was chief medical officer of the ship. Soon after leaving Brindisi the following list of the suite was published:—

1. His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.G.
2. The Right Hon. Sir H. Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.
3. The Lord Suffield, Lord in Waiting, and Head of H.R.H.'s Household.
4. Major-General the Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk-Marshal to the Queen.
5. The Earl of Aylesford.
6. Major-General D. M. Probyn, C.B., V.C., Equerry.
7. Lieut.-Col. Arthur Ellis, Grenadier Guards, Equerry.
8. Mr Francis Knollys, Private Secretary.
9. Surgeon-General J. Fayrer, M.D., C.S.I., Hon. Physician to the Queen; Physician.
10. Captain the Hon. H. Carr Glyn, C.B., R.N., Serapis, A.D.C. to the Queen.
11. Colonel Owen Williams, commanding royal regiment of Horse Guards.
12. Lieutenant the Lord Charles Beresford, R.N., M.P., A.D.C.
13. Captain the Lord Carrington, Royal Horse Guards, A.D.C.
14. The Rev. Canon Duckworth, Chaplain to H.M. the Queen; Chaplain.
15. Lieutenant A. Fitz George, Rifle Brigade, Extra A.D.C.
16. Commander Durrant, R.N., commanding the yacht Osborne, in attendance.
17. Mr W. H. Russell, LL.D., Hon. Private Secretary to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.
18. Mr Albert Grey, Private Secretary to Right Hon. Sir B. Frere.
19. Mr Sydney Hall, M.A., Artist.
20. Major Clarke, Hussars, accompanying H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to Bombay.

Oct. 18.—We entered the Piræus in the morning. The ships in the harbour were decorated, salutes were fired, and vast numbers of people collected. H.M. the King of the Hellenes came on board: we had the Greek flag flying at

Durrant. Williams. Fitz George. Aylesford. Ellis. Knollys. Probyn. Paget. Fayrer. Russell. Grey. Duckworth. Bradford. Glyn. Hall.

Sartorius. Suffield. Sutherland. Carrington. The Prince. Beresford. Frere. Browne. Henderson.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S SUITE IN INDIA.

the bow, English at the stern, royal standard at the main. Vice-Admiral Drummond, K.C.B., came on board, and many other officers and high officials. We were all in full uniform to receive them, and were introduced to the King. The Prince landed with the King, and taking with him the Duke of Sutherland and some others, went to the Palace, where they were received by Queen Olga. The rest went to the Acropolis, Parthenon, Propylæa, Temple of Theseus and of Jupiter Olympus. At dinner at the palace there was only a small party, and after dinner the young princes went round the table and spoke to the guests.

The night air is bright, clear, and chilly, with heavy dew. In consequence of the dearth of vegetation this is a most arid country, and its uncultivated state and absence of trees seem to have changed the climate. It is difficult to conceive how this can be the Athens of ancient history!

Oct. 19.—We all landed early and went to Athens. I was much struck with the insignificant appearance of the Acropolis as seen from the railway: it is very different when the vast extent and magnificence of the ruins are brought near the eye. From the palace we drove with the King and Queen, Baron Guldencrone, Admiral Sartoris, and others to the King's country chateau of Tatöi, distant sixteen or eighteen miles across the plain of Attica. This road to Tatöi, made by King George, was then the only carriage-road in Greece, as the short railway from the Piræus to Athens was the only railway. The road terminates at Tatöi, which is a pretty but plain building in the pine-woods which clothe the hills that begin here. There is much underwood —arbutus, dwarf oak, ilex, and heather; the eucalyptus also seems to thrive. The King took me all over the house and showed me every room, including the nursery. The grounds are prettily laid out, and there are fine views of Athens, the Acropolis, the Attic plain, Pentelicus, Hymettus, Parnes, and Salamis, with glimpses of the bay and Megara in the distance. We went with the King to see the stables, where there were Arabs, Barbs, and other horses. Towards even-

ing we drove back to Athens. There were great displays of fireworks, and the Acropolis was brilliantly illuminated; salutes were also fired. I was much interested in Mars Hill, and could hardly realise that this was really the place where St Paul preached and told the Athenians of the "unknown God." There was a state dinner at the palace of about 140 guests. It was a gorgeous display of uniforms and dress, and the servants, in Albanian costume, looked very picturesque.

Oct. 20.—I wrote letters home and to Sir W. Jenner, and went on shore with Sir B. Frere and the British consul to see some Greek antiquities. They were small but very beautiful, and of fabulous value. About noon the Prince with the King and Queen, Admiral Drummond, and Mr Stuart, came on board. The men-of-war in harbour saluted and manned yards. The King and Queen gave us their photographs, with autographs, and asked for ours in return. The suite were presented by King George, in the presence of the Prince, with the Order of the Saviour; I got the third class. We wore the decorations at lunch, and the King said he hoped we would wear them in future in memory of the visit. At 4 P.M., under general salute, the Serapis steamed out of the Piræus. The King and Queen remained on board till late in the evening and some distance from shore. It was beautifully clear and calm when they left the ship; the Serapis and Osborne were brilliantly illuminated. I presented the King with a copy of the 'Thanatophidia,' with which he seemed much pleased.

Oct. 23.—At Port Said the ships of war, dressed with flags, saluted and yards were manned. We all went on board the Osborne to go to Ismailia. General Stanton, the Consul-General at Cairo, the Khedive's three sons, and Nubar Pacha came on board. We landed in state and went on to Cairo, where a great reception was prepared; guards of honour of Egyptian troops, with the Khedive himself and many officials, were present. We drove to the Gezireh Palace, which had been placed at the Prince's

disposal—a beautiful palace on the Nile, splendidly furnished, and surrounded by a lovely garden with tanks, kiosks, and a fine collection of wild animals. The Khedive, who is a short, stout man, with a clever face and courteous manner, and who speaks French well, left us in the charge of Mustapha Pacha.

Oct. 24.—We had service in one of the large reception-rooms. We went with the Prince to call on the Khedive at the Palace of Abdeen, and on the Princes also at their palaces, and the visits were returned almost immediately. After lunch the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Alfred Paget, and I went to Shepheard's Hotel, the great Mosque, Citadel, Bazaar, and Joseph's Well. Cairo is wonderfully improved and increased in size since I saw it in 1858. We dined with the Khedive.

Oct. 25.—An installation of the Star of India was held in the great room, which was decorated with the colours of the order: the purpose was to make Prince Tewfik Pacha, the Khedive's eldest son and heir, a Knight Grand Commander. As a member of the order I was appointed to act as secretary, and read the warrants from the Queen; other members of the order presented the Prince to H.R.H. The Khedive and his pachas were present. The Prince of Wales wore a field-marshal's uniform, with the collar and badge of the Star of India, and the suite were in full uniform. The Prince addressed the Khedive, saying that he felt great pleasure in conferring this honour on his son, and expressed the friendly sentiments of our Sovereign. To this the Khedive having made a very good reply, the Prince of Wales next invested the young prince, who then signed the rules, and the assembly broke up.

Oct. 26.—The Khedive came to say good-bye to the Prince and presented the suite with the order of the Medjidié. To one or two he gave the Osmanié. I got the third class Medjidié. The Khedive made each a little speech in presenting the order, asking him to wear it as a souvenir of his visit to Egypt. The Khedive went to the train with

the Prince, and General Stanton, Nubar Pacha, and other officers accompanied us to Suez.

Oct. 27.—In the Gulf of Suez there was a fresh northerly breeze and a few clouds skirting the sides of the mountain-ranges, of which Sinai, though not seen, forms a peak. At 3 P.M. we were in the Red Sea with a temperature of 78°. We passed the Peshawur and told her to report all well. She manned yards; we manned our rigging, and played "Home, Sweet Home." The weather continued close and sultry, but the Prince bore it well, and evidently has great toleration of heat.

Nov. 1.—We arrived at Aden early this morning. General Schneider, the governor and commandant, and staff came on board. On landing, an address from the residents and officials of Aden was read by a Parsee merchant, to which the Prince replied, and we then drove to cantonments, escorted by the Aden troop and camel-men. We visited the fortifications, and then drove back to the Resident's house. At a reception the Sultan of Lahej was presented, and received a medal and ring. He is a picturesque, dignified-looking old gentleman, plainly dressed in a simple burnous. Aden must be a dreary place to live in, with nothing to mitigate the great heat, on the crater of an extinct volcano, with little or no vegetation: the few plants that do grow in the scoriæ and lava rocks are very succulent, being adapted to store up moisture in their cells to provide against the drought. The place is devoid of amusements, is badly supplied with water, and has other defects. It is surprising that the troops retain their health at all. I wrote a memo recommending the establishment of a theatre, racket-court, and library for the garrison, which I showed to the Prince. We re-embarked, and steamed away for Bombay that night.

This is regarded as the beginning of the cool season at Aden—indeed it is never much cooler, and one may imagine what a furnace it must be in the hot weather. It hardly ever rains, and now the tanks are quite empty. They are excavations—natural and artificial, completed with masonry

—in the rocks, and into them any rain that falls is drained. They are very clean and beautifully kept, of a dazzling white. Aden is supplied with drinking-water chiefly by condensing sea-water. There is a certain quantity of water brought in, I believe, from a distant source; but it is brackish, and insufficient in quantity.

Nov. 2.—To-day we had a consultation—Sir B. Frere, Ellis, Probyn, and myself—about the Indian programme. I repeated what I had on a previous occasion urged, that no arrangements should be made that might prolong the Prince's stay in India beyond the 1st of March, or at the latest after the first week in March. And I dwelt on the doubtful propriety of the contemplated expedition to the Anamallay Hills, as letters had reached me containing reports of cholera prevailing in that part of the country. I wrote from Port Said to the Governor of Madras on the same subject. A telegram was also sent by Sir B. Frere, asking him to appoint an experienced medical officer to make personal inquiry and collect all reliable information on the subject, and to meet me in Bombay for consultation. I also urged the importance of restricting the amount of the Prince's work, the absolute necessity of considering any programme of proceedings now devised as provisional and subject to alteration, and the desirability of impressing this on the authorities in India. There was considerable discussion at this meeting and others on this subject.

We had a good passage, though the heat was rather oppressive. There were two cases of fever among the crew, and one, a lad of seventeen, subsequently died in Bombay.

Nov. 8.—We were off Colaba this morning, the scene lively with boats and vessels with picturesque lateen sails and colours flying. Admirals Macdonald and Rowley Lambert came on board; the former commands the station and the latter the Flying Squadron. The governor, Sir P. Wodehouse, came off with his staff. It felt very uncomfortable in full uniform, buttoned up, with thermometer at 84°! We entered the harbour, the ships of the squadron saluting,

with yards manned; the merchant ships were also dressed. The Serapis anchored, and we landed in state at the Dockyard Pier: the day had been spent on board in receiving visitors and making arrangements. The Viceroy (Lord Northbrook), the Commander-in-Chief and his staff, and the members of Council had been on board. At the dockyard the authorities received the Prince, and an address from the municipality was read. On each side, under the great shed, were rows of people, and among them many native princes and chiefs gorgeously dressed. A procession was formed to go through the town to the Government House at Parell. The streets were beautifully decorated; they were lined with troops and police, and admirable order was kept; there were cavalry escorts. The excitement and enthusiasm were intense, and the people cheered loudly, especially the Parsees. The crowd consisted very largely of women, and the Parsee ladies looked well in their picturesque, brilliantly coloured costumes, so different to crowds on the Bengal side, where few, if any, women are seen.

On arriving at Parell we took up our quarters in Government House and tents. We were now joined by General Sam Browne, C.B., V.C., who is to take charge of our camp. Major Henderson, from Cashmere, the political officer, Major Bradford, in charge of the police, and Majors B. Williams and Sartorius, C.M.G., V.C., will assist General Browne; Mr Hardinge, assistant apothecary, and a compounder have been sent to be my assistants. My old friend Dr Hunter, Principal of the Medical College, and Dr Vandyke Carter came to see me. The day has been intensely hot, and the heat in the tents was above 94°; it is most oppressive and fatiguing, especially with all the bustle and excitement, in full-dress uniform, too! At a big dinner at Parell, at which we were all present, I met some old friends. There was a levée in the evening, when Sir Salar Jung and other Hyderabad chiefs were received.

Nov. 9.—The whole day was occupied in receiving visits from native chiefs. This being the Prince's birthday, we

offered our congratulations, and Lord Suffield presented, on behalf of the suite, a large turquoise procured at Cairo. Salutes were fired in honour of the day. In the afternoon the Prince, with the suite, drove to the Apollo Bunder, went off in the steam-launches and visited the fleet; then went on board the Serapis, where he cut his birthday-cake. The display of fireworks from the men-of-war and the illumination of the city and fleet were most beautiful. There were many curious devices and quaint loyal inscriptions, such as "Tell Mamma we are happy!" On landing I had a conversation with Lord Northbrook, who was most kind, and expressed his dread of the Prince's visiting the west coast, on account of cholera and fever. He said he quite concurred in the objection, which he knew I had made to it, and if at any time I wanted support or advice I might write to him direct. The Guikowar of Baroda, Maharajah of Mysore, a deputation from the Nizam, a sickly boy, not well enough to come in person, represented by Sir Salar Jung and other chiefs, Maharajah of Oodeypore, Maharajah of Kutch, and Rajah of Kholapore were presented. Salutes were fired according to their rank. The native chiefs are evidently charmed with the Prince's gracious manner.

Nov. 10.—To-day the Prince returned the visits of the Guikowar, Kholapore, and several of the minor chiefs, and afterwards held a levée. After the levée the Prince went to a children's *fête* on the plain. There were present 10,250 children—Christians, Parsees, Mohammedans, Hindus. The crowd of children and the flags, banners, &c., made a very picturesque and interesting show. The Mahratta girls sang hymns in Mahratta and Guzerattee in praise of the Prince. A pretty young Parsee girl put wreaths of flowers round the Prince's and Sir P. Wodehouse's necks. We returned to Parell, where there was a dinner-party, chiefly officials and their wives. Then we went to a ball at the Byculla Club.

The weather keeps very hot, 88° to 94° in the tents; but the nights are tolerably cool. The telegraphic reports of

cholera are numerous, and sometimes contradictory, but all indicate its continued presence. The Prince's movements still remain unsettled.

Nov. 11.—The Duke of Sutherland, Lord A. Paget, and I went this morning with Dr Hewlett to see the city, the bazaars, and the markets, all wonderfully clean and orderly. We went also to see the Towers of Silence, or Dokmas, where the Parsees dispose of their dead. The bodies are exposed on a grating and are devoured by vultures and kites. We were taken all over Malabar Hill by a Parsee priest. We then drove to the Hindu burning-place, which is near the sea-shore, in an enclosure, and there saw some bodies undergoing cremation. We returned in time to accompany the Prince to the university, where an address was read by Mr Gibbs, the vice-chancellor. A *fête* was given to the sailors of the fleet, on the Esplanade, in tents. The Prince went to see it, and was loudly cheered by the men, when he made them a speech. He also returned some visits of native chiefs. We next went to the new wet dock to lay the foundation-stone with masonic honours.

Nov. 12.—I went with the Duke of Sutherland to see the Jamsetjee Jheejheebhoy Hospital and Grant Medical College. Dr Hunter and the professors met us there, and we went over the hospital and school. We went in the May Frere to Elephanta to a picnic given by Bombay. The island and the caves were beautifully illuminated, and a banquet was given in the great rock temple: the carved figures of Vishnu and other idols in the rock, with the massive pillars, looked grotesque in the illumination, and in wonderful contrast to the tables laid out for supper. After dark there was a display of fireworks, bluelights, and a bonfire on the island; and as we returned at dark, the fleet, the P. and O. steamers, and the merchant ships were brilliantly illuminated, and made the most wonderful display of fireworks I suppose ever seen. The men-of-war looked magnificent as we steamed slowly past them,—every yard and rope sketched out in lines of fire, with constant displays

of changing coloured lights; the men manning yards and cheering vociferously as we passed. Towards the end of our passage through the fleet I had a narrow escape: a rocket fired from the rigging of our little steamer, instead of going up in the air, took a horizontal flight and passed close to my head—so close as to singe my hair. It made a frightful noise and glare, but did not hurt me. I was standing on the forecastle, where I had gone to get a better view. We soon after this steamed back among the fleet, greeted with fresh displays of fireworks and illuminations: as a pyrotechnic display it was unequalled. The ships of war as we passed played "God Save the Queen" and "God Bless the Prince of Wales," the marines all drawn up on deck, and the yards manned by sailors holding blue, green, yellow, and red lights. The two admirals, as well as the governor and other high officials, were with the Prince on board the May Frere.

The reports to-day by telegraph from the south are again unsatisfactory: cholera is epidemic all over the south of India. I wish all my companions saw the full import of this as regards the Prince's movements!

Nov. 13.—We left Bombay for Poona, the governor and his suite being with the Prince. The day was fine, but very hot; it got cooler as we ascended the Ghâts. The scenery of the Bore Ghât is very bold and picturesque—the ascent nearly 2000 feet. The hills of this range are very peculiar in formation and colouring. The sides are clothed with trees, but the general colour is of a red or ochre tint. They are truncated, with table-like summits, and are abruptly scarped. The rail winds up steep and difficult inclines: in many places one looks down a sheer precipice of hundreds of feet. In the station, where we stopped for a few minutes before commencing the ascent, the thermometer in the shade stood at 92°. The air also feels very damp and oppressive; in fact, I never remember to have felt such disagreeable heat anywhere in India as we have experienced since we came to Bombay. All seem to bear it pretty well—no one

better than the Prince. As we neared the summit the air felt fresher and cooler. We reached Kirkee at about 5.30. Sir C. Staveley, the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Mark Kerr, the general commanding this division, their staffs, and a large crowd were present at the station. We drove off rapidly, escorted by cavalry, and in passing through the city an address was read by a native magnate. To this the Prince made a reply, and the procession moved on to Gunesh-Khind, the governor's residence.

Nov. 14.—The air is bright, dry, and almost keen, but the sun is hot. I wrote my second letter to the Queen to-day, also home. New projects are constantly suggested: one is to visit the Gairsoppa Valley, near Beypore, there make inquiry, and go on if the state of the country as to cholera will admit of it. I oppose this, and the trip to Beypore is in abeyance, though not yet abandoned finally.

Nov. 15.—In the morning the Prince went to Parbutti hill and temple, where he had his first ride on an elephant, and saw the remains of the Peshwa's palace, and in the afternoon held a review of the troops. We left for Bombay that evening.

Telegrams to-day inform us that cholera has broken out in Colonel Michael's camp: it is therefore now obvious that we cannot go on that shooting expedition!

Nov. 16.—We arrived at Parell early in the morning. In the afternoon the Prince presented new colours to the Marine battalion, the 21st Regiment, B.N.I. The address from the city of Bombay was presented in a beautiful gold casket, by a deputation. There was a dinner-party and a state ball at Parell. The room was much crowded and the heat intense, but the Prince seemed to enjoy it. The question of a visit to Baroda is under consideration as an alternative to that to the Anamallays. I have no objection to offer, for, as far as I can learn, it is now healthy. The recent events at Baroda, I imagine, render the question of a visit from the Prince the subject for some consideration.

Nov. 17.—To-day the Prince and some of the suite visited the Towers of Silence on Comballa Hill, where Sir J. Jheejheebhoy and other influential Parsees met them and presented a model of a tower, showing the interior and how the dead are disposed of. We then visited other places, including the Crawford Markets and the European hospital, of which the defects were pointed out by the surgeon-general and others. The Prince expressed his opinion decidedly in favour of a new hospital. A dinner-party was given on board the Serapis to the governor, admirals, and the high officials of Bombay. Captain Durrant of the Osborne, and Prince Louis of Battenberg, a sub-lieutenant of the Serapis, have joined the suite. It is decided now that we go to Baroda, and thence to Ceylon, touching at Beypore, Goa—perhaps Travancore—on the way. I continue to receive unfavourable reports of the health of the Madras Presidency.

Nov. 18.—To-day I received a telegram in cipher from General Ponsonby expressing the Queen's anxiety about the rumours of cholera. I replied immediately that all were well; that we were going to Baroda, which is healthy.

Nov. 19.—We reached Baroda in the morning. The night was pleasant. The climate becomes cooler as we go north. The boy Guikowar and his minister, Sir Madava Rao, were there. We found a number of elephants, gorgeously caparisoned, a guard of honour, and escort of cavalry waiting. We mounted the elephants and went to the Residency. The Prince and the Guikowar rode on a very fine elephant, magnificently caparisoned and painted, accompanied by Sir R. Meade and Mr Melville, the new Resident. We are lodged at the Residency. Soon after arrival there was a formal reception of the Guikowar and his sirdars. The Prince then inspected the elephants, when Hall sketched some of them. In the afternoon the Prince, with his suite, returned the Guikowar's visit. We drove in state to the Moti-Bagh, and thence to the Rumna, and there saw some wild-beast fights. After the durbar some of us went with the Prince into the inner rooms and had an interview with

the Maharani Jumna Bhai. She is only twenty-four, but looks older. Her daughter, Tara Bhai, aged four years, was with her, sitting on an English lady's knee. She talked in a low voice to the Prince, the lady and Sir R. Meade interpreting for her.

Nov. 20.—The morning was very fresh and cool. We went to Muckanpoora, and then on to the ground where the cheetahs were waiting, got into bullock-hackeries, and after jolting for some time over rough ground came in sight of some antelope. A cart stopped, and the cheetah slipped down to the ground: he made a splendid run, following a buck for full 500 yards, but failed, and the buck escaped. Two others then followed, and the antelopes were killed. We dined at the mess of the 22nd Bombay Native Infantry, Colonel Nuthall, which was decorated with tiger-skins, bison and antelope horns, and other trophies, and sat in the illuminated garden till midnight. About fifteen miles distant may be seen Howah-Ghur—"abode of the winds"—about 2000 feet high, the only hill in this part of the country. It is said that on and about it there is good tiger, leopard, and sambhur shooting. Captain Westmacott, who had his left hand badly mauled by a panther some time ago, has joined us here.

Nov. 21.—After service in the Residency we drove through the illuminated city, escorted by the Guikowar's guards and hussars. After dinner Sir M. Rao made a good speech. The Maharani did not appear at dinner, but was close by, and from behind a screen heard and saw all that went on. In the palace the Guikowar's jewels were laid out for inspection, and very beautiful and magnificent they are. We arrived at Mahmoodabad, forty-three miles from Baroda, the next morning.

Nov. 22.—After *chota haziri* we began quail-shooting, and got a fair bag of hares and partridges and 120 couple of quail. We returned to breakfast at a Mohammedan tomb called the Roza, where Mr Shepheard, the collector, entertained us. In the afternoon we drove to camp at Dubka.

Nov. 23.—We mounted early on a beautiful cool morning and rode to the ground for pig-sticking. We had little success, but it was a beautiful day, and we had a pleasant gallop: my little Arab carried me well. On our way back the Prince stopped at a jheel to shoot snipe. We then returned to Bombay, where we arrived early in the morning of the 24th and went straight on board the Serapis.

The Jheejheebhoy family (ladies included) visited the Serapis to-day, and seemed much interested.

Nov. 25.—We drove to Parell to pay a farewell visit to the Governor, where the Prince conferred the honour of knighthood on Mr Frank Souter, Commissioner of Police, of Bombay. Sir Frank Souter did good service during the Mutiny, and during the recent troubles at Baroda: his arrangements also for the Prince of Wales's visit to Bombay have been very successful. Professor Monier Williams of Oxford came on board, and was presented to the Prince. He is visiting India with reference to establishing an Indian Institute at Oxford, and I had a long talk with him on the subject. We are bound first for Goa, Admiral Macdonald's ship the Undaunted, with the Raleigh and Osborne, accompanying us.

Nov. 27.—We anchored off the bar yesterday evening, and this morning we all went on board the May Frere and steamed to shore under salutes from Fort Panjum. The Governor-General, Dom Tavares d'Almeida, came off with the chief secretary and suite to receive the Prince. He was in an 8-oared galley, the crew wearing conical scarlet caps with large silver plates. On landing we went to the Government House, a large plain building, the rooms of which are decorated with portraits of Portuguese celebrities, governors and viceroys, including Albuquerque, Vasco da Gama, Braganza, and others. There was a reception, at which the Governor presented the chief officials and residents of Goa. It was intensely hot, and the sun's rays fierce enough to give sunstroke. We went in boats to Old Goa, which is entirely deserted and ruinous, except a few houses

and some churches, all telling of departed grandeur. It is said to have become so malarious as to be uninhabitable: there may have been other reasons, but probably the causes of decadence were intensified by the fever. We were accompanied by the Governor and staff. A stout captain of Engineers took me under his protection, and I thought more than once that he would have dropped from *coup de soleil*. After a fatiguing walk—the Prince and the Governor and some others were in *mancheels*—we returned to Panjum, and then went on board the Serapis.

Whilst at Old Goa we visited several of the churches, the Conception and Bon Jésus among them. The chapels in the latter are highly ornate, and in the church is the tomb containing the remains of Saint Francis Xavier, all but one arm, which was sent to Rome. He died, I believe, in China. We passed under the ancient gateway of Vasco da Gama, under which all governor-generals of Goa have to pass. We saw St Catherine's Cathedral and a portion of the Palace of the Inquisition. After dinner we all dressed in flannel and landed in the steam-launches to draw the seine nets on the sandy beach. We had to pass through the surf and got wet, but landed safely, and found a most picturesque group of officers and men, nearly stripped, hauling the seine. They had already had several hauls, and caught a lot of small fish, but no hydrophidæ, as I expected. They were splashing and rushing into the surf that rolled on the beach: every one was drenched. There were roaring bonfires, round which we had coffee. It was a most exciting and picturesque scene, lovely starlight, the Southern Cross sparkling brilliantly in the south. The Prince enjoyed the sport immensely—he was up to his knees in the water, and dragging at the seine with the rest. Such a party, I think, had never before been seen—half naked, rushing about in the surf on a tropical beach at midnight! It was a wild but very enjoyable adventure; so warm, and there was so much exercise that I hoped no one would suffer.

Nov. 29.—The Duke of Sutherland spoke yesterday about the importance of not exposing the Prince to any risk for the sake of mere shooting. I told him such were altogether the views I was steadily advocating. The Duke said he had spoken strongly on the subject, advising them not to press the expedition. We anchored in seven fathoms at 8.30 A.M., seven or eight miles from the town of Beypore. Soon after anchoring, Mr Robinson, senior member of the Madras Council, came on board with Mr Athol MacGregor, Resident of Trevandrum, and Dr Houston. I had a conference with the Prince, Sir Bartle, Michael, Ellis, and Knollys, and it was decided after some discussion that, in view of the reports of cholera being still present in these parts, we are not to shoot either in the Anamallays or in Travancore, and it is decided that we are to go direct to Colombo. The Prince and some of the suite started in two of the steam-launches on an expedition up the river: they took their guns, and did not return till late. The Prince had shot some otters and birds, and enjoyed himself considerably.

Nov. 30.—We sailed from Beypore yesterday. Two or three whales came in sight. There was a dinner-party on board in honour of Beresford's promotion to the rank of commander, of which he had just heard: it was a very festive evening. Just before dinner a fresh, cold land-breeze blew in through the ports—very pleasant, but dangerous on account of chill, and, perchance, malaria. I advised the Prince not to expose himself to it. He laughed, and said he did not mind it, remarking that if so many precautions were to be taken he had better go back to England.

I have been writing letters, and reading Valbezen's India, a very interesting book; but reading and writing are difficult in this temperature. The land in some places is quite red, where the soil is turned up, I suppose, for some kind of crop. There are numerous groves of cocoa-nuts. A beautifully undulating chain of hills forms the background, on which the clouds are resting.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA—*continued.*

*Reception in Colombo—Meet my old pupils of the Calcutta Medical College—Journey to Kandy—Peribara—Visit Botanical Gardens at Paradenia—Temple and Buddha's tooth—Knighthood of the Governor—Shooting-party to Ruanwella—Heavy rain—Camp at Ruanwella—Leeches—Elephant-shooting in kraal—Prince shoots an elephant—Return to Colombo—Festivities—Prince lays foundation-stone of new breakwater—Leave Ceylon for Tuticorin—Native Christians at Tinivelli—Reports of cholera—Madura, reception there—The great temple and palace—Trichinopoli, festivities—Illumination of the rock of Trichinopoli—Erode—Reception at Madras—Guindy—Cholera in the Madras Presidency—Hunting—Places of interest in Madras—Illumination of the surf—Entertainment by the citizens—Voyage by sea to Calcutta—Reception and ceremonies—Reception of native chiefs—Prince visits Barrackpore—Medical College—Reception by my old students there—The hospitals—Chapter of the Star of India—Native chiefs and others decorated—Honorary degree conferred on the Prince—Leave Calcutta—Bankipore—Display of elephants there—Durbar—Benares—Lieutenant-Governor's camp—Reception of the Prince—Prince lays foundation-stone of new hospital and visits new town hall—Visits temples—Maharajah of Benares' entertainment at Ramnugger—Illumination of city and river—Reception at Lucknow—Levée and reception of Nawabs, talukdars, &c.—Martinière—Secunderabagh—Visit Residency—Survivors of Lucknow presented to Prince—Foundation-stone laid of monument to native defenders of Residency—*Fête *at the Kaiser Bagh—Hog-hunting at Secunderpore—Accident to Lord Carrington—Visit the old cantonments—Prince visits my old house in Residency—Sir Henry Lawrence's tomb.*

Dec. 1.—We arrived in Colombo roadstead at about 11.30

to-day, and found the fleet, with both flagships, at anchor. The weather became very muggy and close. Mr Gregory, the Governor, and Dr Kynsey, P.M.O., with other officers, came on board and gave a good account of the health of the island. The camp at Ruanwella where the Prince is to shoot elephants is reported to be perfectly healthy. We drove through the town of Colombo, which was beautifully decorated with arches and festoons made of cocoanuts, palm-trees, and flags, and crowded with Cingalese, with their curious head-dresses, men with their hair done up in chignons and tortoise-shell combs, to the Government House. The address from the municipality was presented in a beautiful ivory casket, ornamented with Cingalese gems and filled with spices. The town of Colombo is picturesque but very tropical, with its cocoanut and palm groves and luxuriant vegetation. The sea rolling up in breakers on the sandy beach looked very cool and refreshing.

Dec. 2.—At the railway station I met some of my old Calcutta pupils, who are now local medical officers, and presented them to the Prince, who received them very kindly. The line from Colombo to Kandy is picturesque, the vegetation very dense and tropical, and the road winds round spurs of hills overhanging deep valleys. On the slopes of the hills we came among the coffee-plantations and clearings, each station decorated with palm and cocoanut leaves, stalks, and fruit, twisted into fantastic shapes and devices. There were crowds of Cingalese, and in some places music, which was barbaric enough. There is a yellow species of cocoanut which contrasts well with the green, and with the young white fronds of the palms, and suspended in clusters all over the festoons and arches, had a beautiful effect. Pine-apples, palmettos, and areca fruit, blossoms and leaves, mingle in exquisite taste with the rest.

The lower country Cingalese are dressed in white or coloured jackets and aprons, with combs in the men's hair, whilst the Kandyans have gigantic head-gear and gaily decorated dresses. The Buddhist priests form a prominent

feature in the crowds: they are recognised by their yellow robes, shaven heads, and demure faces. The station at Kandy was gaily decorated with palms and flags; there were crowds of people in gay costumes, and many Kandyan chiefs in their gorgeous but grotesque dress; also, as a contrast, a group of Veddahs, with their bows and arrows, very inferior specimens of the human race, aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon. We drove to Government House, which is beautifully situated in a lovely garden full of trees and palms. It is cooler here, naturally, but still is close and muggy, the air is so damp: the thermometer is only 72°, but the least exertion bathes one in perspiration. Kandy is a lovely little city, situated in an amphitheatre of hills, with clusters of beautiful tropical vegetation, and a very pretty lake, on the border of which a temple is situated. We had a dinner-party at Government House, and after it, in the garden, a private rehearsal of the Perihara, a procession of elephants by torchlight, and grotesque figures of devil-dancers making hideous contortions as they passed. The Kandyan chiefs also passed in procession. The elephants were of all sizes, and their trappings and decorations were for the most part of red cloth. The Kandyan dress is peculiar: a square turban with gems and gaudy tinsel, a silk jacket similarly decorated, and rolls of muslin round the body, making the wearer look like a walking pincushion—the greater the dignity the more the muslin! There were also oddly dressed figures covered with metallic armour-like plates, dancing wildly to clanging and barbaric music, as they passed by torchlight, in a procession which would have been ridiculous but for the elephants and the surroundings.

Dec. 3.—The day was steamy, oppressive, and occasionally showery. We drove out to the Paradenia Botanic Gardens, and were shown everything by Dr Thwaites, the superintendent. We saw the nutmeg and other spices; a queen white ant was exhumed; and the Prince planted a tree. The gardens are very extensive, most beautifully kept, and abound in every form of tropical vegetation. Mr Mudd, our plant

collector, is adding considerably to his stock. I wrote to the Queen again to-day.

After dinner there was a reception at the temple, but the illuminations and decorations were sadly marred by the rain. There was a repetition in public, on a large scale, of what we saw in the garden. The Kandyan chiefs and their wives were assembled to receive the Prince. We were admitted into the penetralia of the temple, and the golden casket in which the sacred treasure, Buddha's tooth, is enshrined, was unlocked. It was taken out and examined: it looks like the tooth of an animal—a long yellow fang, blunt at each end—no human tooth, certainly. It is regarded as a very precious relic! In the great hall of the temple the Prince conferred knighthood of St Michael and St George on Mr Gregory. The badge of Companion was then presented to Mr Birch, the Secretary, and to Mr Douglas, Auditor-General. The chiefs presented a casket of Cingalese manufacture to the Prince.

Dec. 4.—We started by train from Kandy, which took us over very picturesque country among the hills, to Navalpittyah, where we found carriages waiting to take us into camp at Ruanwella, where the kraal has been constructed. We halted at Kitugalla rest-house for refreshments. The road from Navalpittyah to Kitugalla was lovely, and passed through the wildest tropical scenery, winding round and among hills covered with dense vegetation, and here and there with coffee-plantations. The rain was now falling in torrents. Beresford, Kinsey, and I were in an open barouche, and soon got drenched to the skin, the rain being so heavy it came up to our ankles in the carriage. The Prince had a closed carriage, so escaped pretty well. I persuaded them all to take quinine immediately and change their clothes. This was not easy to do, as much of the baggage had not arrived. Altogether we were in rather a sorry plight. Good quarters had been prepared for the Prince in a house in the ancient fort. Dr Kynsey had all ready, his baggage had been sent on before, and he gave me dry

clothes, some brandy and quinine. I feared the wetting would bring on my old fever again, but it did not.

Our camp consists of huts constructed of palm-leaves and bamboos, lined with white calico,—very picturesque, and would be very comfortable if the weather were only fine, but it poured with rain, and everything was saturated. The air is like a vapour-bath. The grass, rice, and low scrub are full of leeches, which find you out directly, and before evening numerous complaints were made of their finding their way insidiously all over the place. Nearly every one has seen if not felt them. They are little things, like pieces of black thread, dreadfully voracious, attack you without mercy, and once attached, quickly fill out! A large *pandal*, fabricated, like our huts, of mat and palm, lined with calico and prettily decorated, has been constructed, and we dined in it — quite a large party, including the attendant civil officers. Messrs Varian and Fisher, two young Ceylon civilians, have come from quite the other end of the island to join the party: they are famous elephant shots, and have come especially to accompany the Prince on this occasion. There seems to be considerable apprehension—or, at all events, it is much talked about—of Tic-polonga (*Daboia*), a venomous viper, common in Ceylon, but none have been seen as yet. Some of the suite had gone to Nuwara-Eliya, to go to Kandapola to try and get elk (sambhur) shooting and hunting. Sir Bartle, Grey, and Duckworth are at Colombo, where we all meet again, we hope, in a day or two.

Dec. 6.—We crossed the Kalani river—a broad and rapid stream, swollen just now by the rain—drove for some miles along a good road, and then halted where a path turned to the left. Here we alighted and found ponies and horses. This road led to the jungle, where the kraal had been constructed in a dense forest in a ravine, between hills, with a stream flowing along the bottom: it was a stockade of posts firmly bound together and extending across the valley in a funnel shape, into which the elephants were to be driven. It

is said there are two herds of elephants, and at least one large tusker among them. They are partially surrounded, and are to be driven towards the kraal, but before they enter it the Prince is to have a shot at them—the tusker, if possible—from a machan placed on a tree or a rock. At the entrance of the enclosure we found a strong bamboo platform from which one could look into the ravine up which the elephants must pass. This was supported on poles, and calculated to stand even the rush of the elephants if they came against it. Here we waited till the Prince arrived. The Prince having been taken through the jungle to his post, and with him a few other guns, the beat began. The jungle was so impenetrably thick that one could see only a few yards beyond the palisade of the kraal, and we anxiously expected the elephants. They kept heading back, and it was long before any one saw them. At last they came, and the Prince got a shot; but finding himself uncomfortably placed in the machan, he got down among the elephants. The tusker never made his appearance. The Prince had several shots among the jungle, and knocked over two elephants. We pressed in and found one good-sized dead elephant that had fallen in the stream. We all stood round it, and Sydney Hall made a sketch of the group. The tail was cut off, and arrangements were made for bringing away the feet and head. The other two got away in the very dense jungle, though severely wounded. The Prince incurred some risk in the rush of the frightened elephants, but he was perfectly cool and collected, and not half so much excited as his guides.

Dec. 7.—We started early in the morning and drove nineteen miles along a level road through rice-fields, palm, cocoanut, jack, breadfruit trees, and a variety of other tropical vegetation, to Colombo, and arrived at Government House at about 10 A.M. I had made an engagement to meet a number of my old Calcutta pupils at Dr Kynsey's house at lunch, so I drove there with him, and they presented me with a beautiful inkstand made of products of Ceylon. I was much touched by their remembrance of me.

Dec. 8.—I went to see the agri-horticultural exhibition. They had several wild animals of Ceylon there, and a collection of snakes, which rather interested me, specially *Trimeresurus anamallensis* and *T. strigatus*, an alligator and a dugong. In the afternoon the Prince went in state to lay the foundation-stone of a new breakwater. We returned to dine at Queen's House, and then went on board the Serapis.

The visit to Ceylon has been very interesting, and as satisfactory as could be, considering the weather. I shall be anxious for some days to see how the jungle air and the damp may have affected any of the party.

Dec. 9.—The Serapis and Osborne left for Tuticorin at one this morning with an escort.

Dec. 10.—This morning we are lying off Tuticorin, but cannot get within several miles of the shore from want of water. Mr Robinson and other officials have come on board, and among them Dr Lestock Stewart, Deputy Surgeon-General, who is to give me information as to health. Early in the morning I was sitting on the poop when something passed me falling from aloft, shooting down the rigging like a flash of lightning. I saw it was a man, and that he went over the side. I ran there immediately to see where he had fallen, and found that he had struck the rail of the little landing port at the entrance gangway, and fallen inside on the platform. I pulled him in: he was unconscious. No bones were broken, but he was in a profound state of concussion: he ultimately recovered.

We landed in a small steamer used for looking after the pearl-fishery. We had to board her from the steam-launch in a heavy swell: she was rolling almost gunwale under, and we got rather wet. The *pandal* and decorations were very pretty, and the crowd, as usual, very great. In the *pandal*, where the address was read, and a casket presented to the Prince, there were specimens of pearls, shells, elephant tusks, and horns. The Prince pronounced the new line open, and we started. We halted at Maniachi and inspected a great gathering of native Christian children of the Tini-

velli Mission. They were paraded and presented to the Prince by the Rev. Dr Caldwell and Dr Sargeant. The children sang "God Save the Queen," and presented the Prince with a Bible and Prayer-book in Tamil. The girls also presented some lace for the Princess, made by themselves. Dr Caldwell read an address.

At Madura we found great preparations for the reception. On arriving at the station the Prince broke a bottle of champagne on the engine that brought us, and called it the "Alexandra." There was a procession through the crowded city to the collector's house, where the Prince is lodged for the night. The house is beautifully situated on an eminence, and overlooks the Great Tank, which has a temple in its centre. This and the city and houses generally were illuminated. The town of Madura is very picturesque, the people quiet and orderly.

Dec. 11.—Early this morning the Prince visited the Great Temple and Teramull Naik's Palace, where it is proposed to erect a statue of the Queen. The Great Temple is a good example of Hindu architecture. We went all over it, through the colonnades and past the shrines, and were decorated with necklaces of gilt tinsel and flowers. A special dress of honour was presented to the Prince. We then started for Trichinopoly. Dr Stewart tells me that cholera is declining, and the cases are less severe. He thinks there is little danger now, but I am not without anxiety, as may be imagined, with so many fresh Europeans and such a large retinue of people.

Dec. 12.—At the Nawab's palace an address was presented. It reminded the Prince that it was here that Clive and Lawrence laid the foundation of the British empire in India. Some Trichinopoly jewellery with gold and silver ornaments, and a silver casket, were presented. There was an illumination of the Rock of Trichinopoly, which is over 300 feet high: near it one of Clive's battles was fought, and the house he lived in was pointed out. Before leaving we saw cigars, for which the place is famous, manufactured.

Dec. 13.—We arrived at Madras early in the morning. The Duke of Buckingham and his staff, the high officials, and several native princes met us; it was a great ovation. The Prince was received at Government House by the Duke and the Ladies Grenville. A levée was held at which some hundreds of European and native officials and gentlemen were presented, including many of the great native chiefs. There had been a reception of the chiefs of Travancore, Arcot, Cochin, and others in the Government House, before the levée, at noon. After dinner the Duke of Buckingham and the Prince, with some of the suite, drove out to Guindy, where we are to spend a day or two. The weather is cooler; the thermometer down to 74° in the night, but very hot during the day; and this is their cold season! What must the hot be!

There are complaints from Bangalore and Ootacamund that the Prince has not gone there. They had made great preparations, but it was impossible under the circumstances.

Dec. 14.—I spent the greater part of the day in the house writing letters and reading. It is the anniversary of Prince Albert's death, and the Prince remains at home to-day. There are to be no festivities.

Dec. 15.—Early in the morning we drove to the race-course and saw the races and then back to Government House, Madras. There was a reception in the banqueting-hall, and an address from the senate of the university, where I met some old friends. In the afternoon the Prince paid a visit to the Rajah of Travancore, who speaks English well; then went to lay the foundation-stone of the new harbour works, where great crowds assembled. We drove along the beach, visited the fort and fort church (some good old names are on the monuments in the church), then the arsenal. Heavy rain came on before we reached Government House.

Dec. 16.—Jugglers and snake-charmers exhibited in front of Government House. There was also a run in the park with a cheetah, which very rapidly pulled down a black

buck. The Prince then went to return the visit of the Rajah of Cochin and Prince of Arcot. There had been a garden-party in the grounds of Government House, where I met several old friends. The Maharani of Tanjore was amongst the Prince's visitors to-day.

Dec. 17.—I went with Drs Harris and Bidie to see the medical college and hospitals, and was much pleased with them. The college is smaller than that of Calcutta, but it seems admirably conducted. I called on Dr Balfour, Surgeon-General, who gave me much information about the statistics of cholera this year: it has been, and is still, very bad in some places. After lunch we went to the people's park and a choral *fête*. We drove out to see the illumination of the town, which was very beautifully managed: the night was dark, but fine and clear. The ships in the roadstead were brilliantly illuminated with changing lights, and were throwing up bouquets and streams of rockets and fireballs. The Ladies Grenville and others went with us to the pier, which projects far out into the sea; the waves were rolling past it with great force. We watched the illumination of the fleet, the city, and, most beautiful of all, the surf and beach: the white rollers were flowing past us, with the masoolah boats and catamarans dashing through them. The latter frequently rolled over, and the men were seen swimming. Numerous boats with torches put out through the surf, throwing potassium lights, which burn brilliantly on the water. It made a most wild and exciting scene, which was enhanced by the wash of the surf on the beach, the rushing sound of the fireworks, and the shouts of the people. It was so interesting that we remained some time on the pier, and then drove through the crowded and illuminated streets, filled with shouting multitudes, to the next entertainment,—a reception, nautch, and supper given by the citizens of Madras in the great railway station.

Dec. 18.—We went to inspect the Prince's presents, which consisted of some very beautiful and valuable objects, laid

out in tents. In the afternoon we drove down to the pier, took leave of our hosts, and, embarking in masoolah boats, went off through the surf, which was not very high, and got safely on board. The Duke and some of his staff came to bid adieu to the Prince on board the Serapis. The usual salutes from the shore and from the ships were fired, and we left accompanied by the Raleigh, Captain Tryon, C.B., and steamed away for Calcutta. It got much cooler as we went north, and on December 22 we arrived at Calpee, where Sir Richard Temple, the lieutenant-governor, came on board.

Dec. 23.—We went slowly up the river and anchored off Prinsep's Ghât, where great preparations had been made for landing. Soon after anchoring, the Duke of Sutherland, who had come round from Hyderabad by rail, came on board, and the first thing we heard was that Lord Hastings, who went with Lord Ebrington to the Anamallays,—landing at Beypore, after we passed,—had died of fever at Tanjore! It is well we did not land at Beypore! A fatal case of cholera occurred on board H.M.S. Doris a day or two ago, but otherwise her health is good. This need not excite much alarm; ships in the Hooghly are seldom without sporadic cholera. We did not land till 4 P.M. The principal inhabitants of Calcutta were assembled, and I met many old friends. The Prince was received by Mr Stuart Hogg and other members of the municipality, and an address was read and presented in a beautiful silver casket. The Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Bishop, the members of Council and the Chief-Justice; Scindia, Holkar, Cashmere, Rewah, Jeypore, Punnah, and many other chiefs, were present. After the address we drove to Government House by way of the Ellenborough Course, the road lined with troops and crowded with people. It was a beautiful, bright, cold-weather day, and such are very pleasant in Calcutta. It was interesting to see my former home under these new circumstances, and very pleasant to meet old friends again. Salutes were fired on shore from the fort, and from the fleet. The escort con-

sisted of European cavalry and the Viceroy's bodyguard. There was no cheering except from Europeans, — the Bengalee does not express his pleasure in this way; but still the greatest interest and enthusiasm were manifested by the dense crowds assembled. The comparative absence of women was strangely in contrast with Bombay and Madras. The Prince wore field-marshal's uniform, with the Garter and the Star of India; the suite were also in full dress.

Dec. 24.—To-day the Prince received the Begum of Bhopal, Holkar, Scindia, Maharajahs of Cashmere, Jeypore, Jodhpore, Rewah, and Putialla. A certain number of sirdars accompanied each chief, and the Prince was attended by the Duke of Sutherland and the suite in full dress. The Begum was veiled; the chiefs were a blaze of jewellery; attarpan was given to each after short conversations, and then they took leave. There was a European guard of honour and the Viceroy's band drawn up to receive the chiefs at Government House. In the evening we drove in procession through the city and along Chowringee to see the illuminations. The crowd everywhere was dense and the reception most enthusiastic; many of the illuminated devices in the native and European quarters were beautiful.

25th, Christmas Day.—The Prince and suite went in state to the cathedral, which was very full. The bishop preached, and Andrew Spens, my brother-in-law, read part of the service. In the evening the Prince, with a few of his suite and the Viceroy, drove to Barrackpore: H.R.H. was so kind as to insist on my remaining behind that I might see my friends, promising to send for me immediately if anything, however trifling, occurred. As it is only a short distance, and all are very well, I did so without anxiety. I dined with the Macphersons, and met a number of old friends: it was very pleasant to see them all again, and to be so kindly received. I visited the Medical College and Hospital, and saw Dr Chevers and several of my old native friends.

Dec. 26.—At the General Hospital I saw Dr Wall, and a very fine collection of venomous snakes with which he and the Commission, appointed at my suggestion, are carrying on the investigations on the subject of snake-poisoning that I began. I went to church at St John's, and Mr Bromhead, our old clergyman, preached.

Dec. 27.—I have asked the Prince to inaugurate the new Zoological Gardens at Alipore. This is the completion of a project of mine initiated years ago, when I was President of the Asiatic Society. It has been revived lately, and, under the auspices of Sir R. Temple, has at length been realised, a large piece of ground having been given for the purpose. The gardens are already laid out, and some animals have been procured.

The Prince returned from Barrackpore to-day, and received the Burmese and Nepaulese embassies. He drove to Alipore, opened the Zoological Gardens, driving slowly through them, and then went to a garden-party at Belvedere, where some strange dances by Munipuries and other native tribes attracted much attention. I met many old friends there. A dinner at Belvedere and a ball at Government House concluded the day's proceedings. A fatal case of cholera has occurred on board the Serapis, and one or two other suspicious cases have been sent to the General Hospital.

Dec. 28.—I went with Duckworth early this morning to the Medical College to meet my old students and friends. There was a large gathering, and they presented me with a beautiful service of silver plate and a numerously signed address, whilst Khan Bahadur Tameez Khan made a very touching speech: it was very gratifying to be so kindly remembered. To-day the Prince paid return visits to several native princes—Cashmere, Jodhpore, Holkar, Johore, and Jeypore. There was then a levée at Government House; it was a great crush, but it gave one an opportunity of seeing many old familiar faces. About 2000 presentations, I hear, were made.

Dec. 29.—Some of the suite are going hog-hunting at Goalundo. There were races this afternoon, and the Prince was present, as also at a dinner-party. The Prince returned the visits of Scindia and other native chiefs this morning.

Dec. 30.—The Serapis has been visited by the native princes: they were received with due honours, and were much pleased. I have written to the wives of nearly all my companions to report on their health. I have many visits from old native friends, and the dear old Maharajah of Benares makes constant inquiries, and has been to see me.

Dec. 31.—The Prince went out early this morning to see the Irregular Cavalry exercise at tent-pegging, &c. The pig-sticking party returned: they were tolerably successful with their sport, but had met with one or two trivial accidents. In the forenoon we went, with an escort of body-guard, to the Medical College, where the Prince was received by the Principal, with all the professors and students, and went over the hospital and college. We then drove to the Sealdah Hospital, Sir G. Campbell's new vernacular medical school, and went over it with Dr Woodford and some of the native teachers; thence on to the European Female Orphan Asylum, where Miss Clarke and other ladies were present. The Prince was much interested in the Asylum, and spoke very tenderly to the children, who gave him flowers, and sang "God Save the Queen," &c. We next drove to the Military Hospital, where we were met by Lord Napier of Magdala and the medical officers, and thence returned to Government House. The Prince said he had given the greater part of the day to me; I drove with him in his carriage to all these places. H.R.H. ordered fruit to be sent to them all, and gave me pictures of himself and the Princess for each, including the Native Hospital, which he would have visited had there been time. I wrote to the Queen and Sir W. Jenner.

Jan. 1, 1876.—The great event of to-day was the Chapter of the Star of India, held on the maidan. Eight A.M. was

the hour fixed for the investiture; we all went in full uniform. As a Companion of the Order I had to join in the procession, as I did when the Duke of Edinburgh was invested. The Prince held the investiture by special warrant from the Queen; and dressed in the robes, with his suite, his pages, and banner, he took his place on the dais, surrounded by the great officers and knights of the Order. The military bands played marches; the guards of honour, furnished by the Serapis and Osborne and by the British infantry, presented arms as the Prince proceeded up the enclosure to take his seat. The warrants for holding the Chapter were then read by the secretary, and the roll of the knights was called, each member present rising and bowing as he responded to his name. Each Knight Grand Commander was accompanied by his pages, attendants, and officer bearing his banner; the native princes were accompanied also by political agents. The roll having been called, the secretary declared the Chapter open, and the investiture began. The names, style, and title of the new Knights Grand Commanders, the Maharajahs of Jodhpore and Jheend, were proclaimed by the secretary, and then each was led up to the dais, and invested by the Prince. A flourish of trumpets announced that the Chapter was dissolved, and the assembly broke up, the Prince having gone through the long and fatiguing ceremony with great dignity. A procession was marshalled, and the Prince returned to Government House; salutes were fired, and the military bands played. The members of the Order departed as they came.

I should have mentioned that, after each knight had been invested, he took the vacant seat reserved for him among the other Grand Knights of the Order, and his banner was unfurled behind him. The whole ceremony was very imposing. The Prince's banner, which bore the Royal Arms of England, was carried by Probyn, in his Equerry's uniform. The costumes were very varied and striking: the magnificent dress and jewels of the native princes, the gorgeous robes of the Grand Knights, and the military and

naval uniforms, produced a brilliant effect. The day was bright and fine, and the general gala aspect produced by the decorations in the streets, and the ships with their colours flying, was very exhilarating.

After lunch the Prince went in state to unveil the statue of Lord Mayo, recently erected: the statue is equestrian, and from one or two points of view the likeness is good.

Jan. 2.—I went to the fort church to-day with the Prince, and after church to the Botanic Gardens with him and Lord Northbrook, Miss Baring, and others: they were escorted through the gardens by Dr King.

Jan. 3.—I paid some farewell visits in the morning, and went with the Prince to the General Hospital. We then went to the house of Baboo Juggadanund, where the Prince was introduced to the ladies of the Baboo's family. Miss Milman and many others were present; she introduced the ladies, who were unveiled. I believe this gave rise to much comment among native society, as it was a novel proceeding for native ladies, albeit Hindus, to come into the presence of, and speak to, European gentlemen. On returning to Government House, the Prince conferred the honour of knighthood on Mr Stuart Hogg, the Commissioner of Police, in recognition of his valuable services.

A convocation of the Calcutta University was held, and I wore my cap and gown, probably for the last time, as a member of the senate. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Prince, who appeared in academic costume. This was the first honorary degree ever given here, and a speech was made by the Vice-Chancellor, to which the Prince replied. We left Calcutta this evening.

Jan. 4.—At Bankipore the Prince was met by the Lieutenant-Governor and the staff. Upwards of 300 elephants of all sizes, some of them magnificent tuskers, were drawn up near the durbar tent, and made an imposing sight. There was a great crowd of natives, and all the European officers and planters for miles distant were here. The

approach to the durbar tent was lined with native troops, and the Volunteer Cavalry escorted the royal carriage. A dais was erected in the large durbar shamiana, and the Prince held a levée with the Lieutenant-Governor. After the levée there was a review of the elephants, which were marched past four deep, some plainly and some handsomely caparisoned. Addresses were presented, and the Prince gave his consent to a new college being called by his name. Some presents were made—elephant-tusks, silver ornaments, and Gainie bullocks. The sergeants of the 109th Regiment presented the Prince with a tame leopard, brought up by themselves, which will be sent home.

At noon we left for Benares, where the authorities and native chiefs were waiting. About five miles from the city we found a magnificent camp, such as India alone can produce, a long street of large double-poled tents for the suite and staff, each having a tent to himself. At the end of the street are the Lieutenant-Governor's and the Prince's tents, with reception-rooms, and a flagstaff in front for the royal standard. On each side, and in the rear, were numbers of smaller tents for the servants and others; in the vicinity were the camps of such troops as have been kept here: many, owing to rumours of cholera, have been sent away to reduce numbers as much as possible. The sanitary arrangements are excellent, and regular reports are sent to me of the state of health wherever we go, especially as to cholera. A medical officer attached to the camp reports to me regularly, as do all the local sanitary authorities. When in Calcutta I had several conversations with Lord Northbrook, who was most kind, and gave directions that all my wishes on these matters should be attended to, and that a special medical officer should be attached to our camp when we get to Delhi. We dined with the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Strachey, in camp. The weather is beautiful, quite cool and clear, with a bright sky, and heavy dews at night. The thermometer at night goes down to 50°, and up to 70° in the shade during the day.

Jan. 5.—The Prince held a levée, at which there was an address from the municipality, read in Sanscrit by a very infirm old native gentleman—Baboo Futteh Narayan Singha —who nearly fainted in the effort, and had to be seated. The Prince spoke most kindly to the old man. After the levée he inspected specimens of Benares workmanship and various breeds of cattle, including the little Gainies. In the afternoon we drove to the city, stopping to look at the exterior of the college, and then went on to lay the foundation-stone of Dr Hooper's new hospital. At the Mission Houses the young native converts sang the "National Anthem" and "God Bless the Prince of Wales," and some little native Christian girls presented a sandalwood box containing lace for the Princess. There was a short halt, during which the Prince made some inquiries about the missionaries and their work, and received an address. The Maharajahs of Benares and Vizianagram, and other native gentlemen, were present; they also presented an address. After this the Prince proceeded to open the new town hall, called the Alfred Hall, after the Duke of Edinburgh, and built by the Maharajah of Vizianagram. Here a sort of durbar was held in a tent, at which several native gentlemen were presented, and an address was offered on a beautiful cushion worked by the girls of the Benares School. After the town hall we went to see the golden and other temples. There were Brahmins and Brahminee bulls in abundance. These temples are situated in very narrow, insanitary lanes. We went on to the Monkey Temple, where thousands of these sacred animals are cherished and fed, and very grotesque and disgusting they looked. We saw one of the places where animals are sacrificed, and where formerly, most probably, human victims met the same fate.

We then embarked in pinnaces for the palace at Ramnuggur, and landed at the fort, where the Prince was received by the old maharajah, the young Koomar, and Rajah Siva-Pershad, C.S.I. The reception was most gorgeous and beautiful, even for India. The Prince landed

under the thunder of salutes, and from the ghât (which was beautifully decorated) up to the palace he passed through lines of magnificent elephants, splendidly caparisoned led horses, camels, armed men, horse, foot, and artillery, with crowds of gaily and richly dressed natives. The old palace and fort of Ramnuggur is very picturesquely situated on the high bank overlooking the Ganges, its towers and abutments giving it a formidable appearance. In the early part of our history in India it was the scene of more than one fight. Its courtyards are surrounded by high walls, and altogether it has a most warlike aspect. The Prince entered, guarded by native troops and surrounded by his suite. The dear old maharajah seemed overwhelmed with delight at the honour conferred on him, and expressed his happiness in the most glowing terms. He certainly is one of the finest specimens of a native prince of the old school one could desire to see, is as good as he looks, and is universally beloved and respected alike by Europeans and natives. Nothing during the whole expedition, to my mind, exceeded the taste and the beauty of the reception. There was a durbar, at which all eligible for the honour were presented. Then endless trays of offerings from the looms and workshops of Benares were laid before the Prince. After this the Prince went over the palace, and saw some beautiful and curious works of native art—among them a model in ivory of the palace, and a set of models in silver of ancient astronomical instruments. There was a large picture of the Duke of Edinburgh and his suite, painted from a photograph taken in 1870 at Chukia. Among them I recognised myself, represented with red hair and whiskers! There was a banquet prepared in the European style.

We adjourned to the terraces and towers in the open air, and there we saw one of the most lovely sights eye could behold. It was a beautiful clear evening, the sun nearly set, the short twilight rapidly fading into darkness, the colouring of the evening sky varied and beautiful; but all round us and in the distance, palaces, towers, terraces,

ghâts, boats, sketched out in lines of fire; endless lights floating down the stream, and in the distance the ghâts, temples and spires of the city of Benares, beautifully and distinctly sketched in light: flights of rockets were constantly projected into the air, and fire balloons rising in rapid succession—not one, but dozens after dozens—made one of the most remarkable, as well as beautiful, scenes I have ever beheld. It was like fairyland! I must say that the beauty of the illuminations, and the quiet, gentle motion of the floating lights, was rather hindered than enhanced by the rush and flare of the rockets and balloons, though, like the lights on the river, they floated away into the distance very beautifully. We embarked where we had landed, by torch-light—the brilliancy of the illumination extending to the water-edge—and, passing the ghâts and temples of the city, obtained a good view of the illuminations, and studied their outlines drawn against the dark sky in lines of fire. There were many quaint devices, and English and Persian inscriptions, all expressive of loyalty and welcome to the Prince. We were obliged to leave it all too soon, and landing, drove back to camp for dinner. The night was lovely, and bright with starlight: the fire balloons floating away in the distant sky became confounded with the stars themselves.

There was a large dinner-party, given by Sir J. Strachey, at which I met many old friends. He and Lady Strachey have provided all with really royal splendour. It was quite cold at dinner, making the fire enjoyable.

Jan. 6.—This morning we left Benares for Lucknow, *viâ* Fyzabad, where Sir George Couper, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, and other officers met the Prince. The approach through the Char Bagh was, to me at least, very interesting and full of reminiscences of former days. But all is so altered now that it is difficult to identify once familiar places. At the railway station the Prince was met by the civil and military officers, with many native chiefs. Agha Ali Khan presented an address from the municipality, and at

the same time, offerings of the manufactures of the city were made. All the usual honours were paid to the Prince, who drove to the Chief Commissioner's house, the Banks's house of the old Residency days. The roads were decorated and crowded with people. This most beautiful of all Indian stations looked its best; but how changed since the old days!

There was a large dinner-party, where I met many old friends. Many of the servants and choprassies are old acquaintances whom I little thought I should ever see again! Poor old Pursid Narain, the former deputy-post-master, who served so long under me, was waiting with others, and came into my tent to make his salaam, just as if he had been doing it every day!

Jan. 7.—Before breakfast this morning I rode to the Residency with the Duke of Sutherland, Probyn, Lord A. Paget, Colonel Williams, Knollys, and Carrington. We went over my house and several of the other posts of defence. How it recalled the old days, to be again riding in Lucknow! After breakfast there was a levée, and a reception of Delhi and Lucknow princes, nawabs, talukdars, and other native gentlemen of importance: all the civil and military officers and others were presented. As I stood and watched them passing and noted the changes time had made, I could not help thinking deeply over past events, and of the hundreds who were with me then and since, who are gone now!

After the levée the Prince and some of the suite (I went in the carriage with the Prince) drove to see the Dil Khusha. The ruins of this fine old French chateau, for such it always appeared, are all that is left. It was offered to me as a temporary residence when I was married, in 1855; its park is now the site of one of the largest military cantonments in India. We drove through this, and then went to the Martinière, which is still a college. We went all over, and to the top of it, whence the surrounding country is well seen, and the scenes of many interesting incidents in the war of 1857 were pointed out; then down into the vault where the

body of Claude Martin, the founder, in former days lay in a sarcophagus, with a figure of a sepoy with reversed arms at each corner of the vault. In 1857 the mutineers opened the coffin and scattered the bones, but the sarcophagus with its inscription remains: the sepoys are gone! We drove past the Secunderabagh, the Shah Nujuf, the Kudum Russool, the Teri Koti, the Chutter Munzil, and the Kaiser Bagh to the Residency, where the great event of the day took place, the laying of the foundation-stone by the Prince of a memorial, given by Lord Northbrook, to the natives who fell in defence of the Residency. It was a very impressive ceremony: all the troops of the large garrison were assembled, whilst all the surviving defenders who could be got together were present. The monument is just outside the Bailey-guard gate, in sight of my old house. I stood with three other officers—Smith, Cubitt, and Birch, the only commissioned officers of the old garrison present—opposite to the Prince, the old sepoy pensioners and others of the garrison drawn up near us. Sir George Couper then made an excellent address, in which he spoke of the fidelity of those native officers and men who remained and fought with us. The Prince made a touching reply, and then the survivors were presented to him by Cubitt, Birch, and myself. I stood by the Prince's side and introduced those I knew as they passed. There were some of my own garrison, all looking very aged and worn. They were much gratified, and several tried—native-like—to take the opportunity of asking for something more. God knows they got little enough! Ungud, our news-carrier, who was, however, well rewarded, was conspicuous among them. After this was over and the stone laid, a royal salute was fired. We then drove through the Residency to the Mutchi Bhowan and to the arsenal in Asaph-ud-Dowla's Imaumbara,—the largest building in the world, I believe, with a roof unsupported by pillars. We drove home through the new roads that intersect the city, which is hardly recognisable by an old resident.

Jan. 8.—We were off at 7.30 by train for Oonao, to a camp

about five miles from that station. On arriving at Oonao we found carriages waiting. Some followed on elephants, camels, or horses, and we soon got to Secunderpore, where the hunt was to begin. As I thought it better to keep my eye on the others, I went on an elephant, and had Hardinge near me with bandages, splints, &c. The hunt was over grassy plains, the grass in some places long and interspersed with patches of cover and low brushwood, with nullahs: the sport was fair, there were some good runs, and ten boars were killed. The Prince got his share of first spears, and rode one of his English horses. I was very anxious as I watched him, particularly as the ground was broken and rough, and some falls occurred. All went well till the afternoon, when, in a sharp gallop after a boar, Carrington's horse came down just as he took the spear, and the result was a broken collar-bone. I was on the spot in a few minutes, and applied a bandage. We then placed him in the shade of some babool-trees. He was rather faint from the shock, but bore it well, and was very plucky. We sent for a dhooly, in which he was carried back to camp, where I finally dressed him: beyond the bruise and the fractured collar-bone, no harm was done. Lord Suffield also got a blow in the neck from the butt of his spear, but it was not serious. Probyn's horse having been cut near the hock by a boar's tusk, I tied a bleeding artery, and told the stud-groom to apply cold-water bandages. We got back to Lucknow by seven. After dinner the Prince and suite went to a ball given by the residents at the Chutter Munzil: it was very crowded, and I met many old friends. How all is changed and changing since the siege! This house was full of dead sepoys when Outram relieved us in 1857.

Jan. 9.—This morning I drove with General Sam Browne, Probyn, and Lord Alfred Paget to the Muriaon cantonments, and went over the old ground. It is so changed that one makes out the once-familiar spots with the greatest difficulty. The houses and the church have disappeared; even the roads are altered, and the parade grounds and gardens are

fields: a fragment of a wall or a bit of gate or pillar here and there mark the site of the old houses. I could just make out the spot where my wife's father lived, and where the church in which I was married stood; the old *chabutra*, or band-stand still remains. Everywhere I met with something to remind me of friends passed away since the sad days of the siege. We drove back to breakfast, after which I went to church. In the afternoon the Prince, the Duke of Sutherland, and some of the suite, with Sir George Couper, drove to the Residency. We got out at my old house and went over it. I pointed out the spot where Sir Henry Lawrence lay, and where he died; where the ladies lived, and where many memorable events took place. The Prince was deeply interested. We then went all over the site of the old defences; each place was pointed out, and each garrison described. The Prince ascended to the top of the Residency tower, where the flag flew during the siege, from which he had a beautiful view of the country, and of the line of approach of Outram and Havelock's force through the city. He went into the *tyekhana*, and, in short, saw all from beginning to end. We visited the churchyard, and there saw Sir Henry Lawrence's tomb, with its simple inscription—

"HERE LIES
HENRY LAWRENCE,
WHO TRIED TO DO HIS DUTY."

The Prince asked many questions, to which Sir George Couper and I replied. I little thought in 1857 that I should live to show the ruins of my house to the Prince of Wales! Much of it is still standing, but the roof and the floor are gone. I tried to find the old tally I kept on the wall of my fourteen killed and forty wounded, but the plaster had fallen away. The shot and shell marks still remain, showing how it was battered, but in many places these have disappeared by the crumbling of the walls. I gathered a few flowers to send to my wife from her old home. The Residency is kept in

beautiful order, and is a striking memorial, but the ruins look old, — so old that one can hardly realise they were once smiling and happy homes of some who are still quite young. The events of that evil time look so far back in the past that they hardly seem to belong to the present generation! And yet, as I stood at the door of my ruined house, the past seemed to come so near that I could have imagined myself once more in my old post, and about to mount my horse or get into my carriage and drive to cantonments. I felt, as I have always felt on revisiting my house, how much cause I have to be thankful; how many there are who still live, only to look back to the time and place as among the saddest of their recollections! I lost all my property, and many valued things, but saved those who were dearest to me. Thank God, no grave there, at least, holds any of my loved ones!

DR FAYRER'S HOUSE IN THE LUCKNOW RESIDENCY.
(After the Siege.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA—*continued.*

Leave Lucknow for Cawnpore—Memorial church—Wheeler's intrenchment—Garden and memorial well—The massacre ghât—Leave for Delhi—Reception there—Chandni chowk—Palace—Lahore gate—Site of camp—Levée—Commander-in-Chief present—Review of 20,000 men—The ridge and Hindu Rao's house—Entertainment in the Dewan Khas—Sham-fight—Open-air service in camp—Inspection of cavalry by the Prince—Leave Delhi—Umritsar—Lahore—Reception by authorities and native chiefs—Levée—Visit jail and Thuggie department—Museum—Prince returns visits of native chiefs—Leave Lahore—Arrive at Jummoo—Maharajah of Cashmere—Splendid reception—Shooting expedition—Hunting with cheetahs and lynxes, and hawking—Grand entertainment at maharajah's palace—Ladak and Lassa llamas—Nuzzers for the Prince—Wazirabad—Opening of new railway bridge—Lahore—Umritsar—Presentation of native chiefs—Visit Golden Tdge—Sikh chiefs—Maharajah of Putialla—His durbar—Ghazeabad—Agra—Grand reception by Lieutenant-Governor—Procession of elephants—Camp—Reception of officers and native chiefs—Taj Mahal—Fort of Agra and other buildings—Prince's visits to native chiefs—Illumination of the Taj and the river—Bhurtpore—Shooting—Futtehpore Sikri and its buildings—Gwalior—Durbar—Maharajah Scindia—Sham-fight—Rock fortress—Halt at Dholpore—Agra—Accident to one of the suite near Muttra—Jeypore—Tiger-shooting—Durbar—Maharajah of Jeypore—Ambeer—Moradabad—Naini Tal—View of Himalayas—Camp at Baraini in Terai.

Jan. 10.—After visiting Bulrampore Hospital, the Residency, and my old house again, probably for the last time in my life, I went to a parade, where the Prince presented colours to the 14th Foot, Colonel Hawley. We left then

for Cawnpore: there is now a bridge over the Ganges. When we crossed in 1857, after the relief, we spent hours on the bridge of boats, under fire from the mutineers, who were attacking Wyndham, whom we had made a long forced march to relieve.

We went to see the memorial church, built on the site of Wheeler's old intrenchment. Many a familiar name of old friends and acquaintances I read on the tablets on the wall! We went then to the garden and the Memorial well, a most sad and touching sight; then to the places near it, where so many of our people were killed. We dined at the judge's house, which is situated on a high bank overlooking the Ganges, and in the evening light the view of the river was very beautiful. Some went to see the ghât, where the people were massacred by the Nana. I returned to the railway to look after Carrington, who had been left in the railway carriage, and found him very comfortable and well cared for. In the evening we went on to Delhi. The weather is fine, the air clear and bright; the nights cold—so cold that one is glad of any amount of wraps.

Jan. 11.—We entered Delhi at about 9 A.M. There was the usual reception at the station, and we proceeded to our camp beyond the ridge. We passed the palace, through the Chandni Chowk and the Lahore gate. The road the whole way was lined by troops of all descriptions, about 18,000 altogether. It was a most picturesque scene, owing to the variety of costumes—native and European—the different uniforms, the camels and elephants. The road was very dusty, as may be imagined. We passed along the ridge, over the scene of the fighting in 1857, by Hindu Rao's house, the flagstaff, lines, and other familiar places, and reached our camp, which adjoins that of the great army now assembled, and near the site of the old cantonments before 1857. This is a great encampment, a street of double-poled tents, a durbar and royal tent at the head and the royal standard in front of them. Dr Kellett is now on our staff in sanitary charge of the camp: his arrangements are excellent.

The Prince held a levée which was numerously attended, Lord Napier and other civil and military officers being there. Lord Napier is suffering from a broken collar-bone, the result of a fall with his horse. In the evening I rode out with Prince Louis of Battenberg to see General and Mrs Donald Stewart. Stewart commands one of the four divisions of the Delhi army. We dined in camp, and then went to an evening party at Lord Napier's, where I met many old friends.

Jan. 12.—Early this morning the thermometer in my tent was 38°; it must have been very near freezing-point during the night. We have fireplaces, as we had at Benares. I accompanied the Prince to a review where the whole force—about 20,000 men—was out in four divisions. The troops manœuvred very well, and elicited much admiration, the Irregular Cavalry, under Watson, showing to great advantage. After the review the Prince presented colours to the 11th, formerly the 70th, Native Infantry, one of the few faithful regiments during the Mutiny of 1857. The review was a magnificent sight, but it was rather tiring, and I was glad to get out of the volumes of dust.

The day was bright and clear, the air dry and cold, the sun's rays hot: it is a trying climate, from these very extremes. In the evening I took a ride on one of the state elephants along the ridge, past Hindu Rao's house, back by Metcalf's house and the Commander-in-Chief's camp. I was quietly looking at the sites and points of view of the great city lying below, that were so interesting to our army in 1857!

Jan. 14.—The Prince, accompanied by his suite and many of the staff, rode out to see one part of the Delhi force, commanded by General Hardinge, attack the other, which, under General Reid, was to defend the ridge and the approach to it. We were in the saddle great part of the afternoon, galloping about watching different manœuvres and points of attack. It ended in General Reid's force maintaining its position. It must have been interesting to some of the

party who were here at the real fighting in 1857, especially to Reid. We went over much ground, and some of it was rather rough: the Prince rode his English horse, Coomassie. I dined with Lord Napier, Commander-in-Chief, and met many old friends, the chief himself being one of the oldest: he came into my house at the relief of Lucknow, shot through the leg. The day was beautiful, and galloping about on the sham battlefield was exhilarating.

Jan. 15.—I went with the Prince and suite, and the General, to see the continuation of the sham-fight, and rode many miles across country. We returned about 4 P.M., and had a picnic at which there were many ladies present. The invalids are better. We dined with the Rifle Brigade this evening, and afterwards went to a circus performance given by some of the Hussars.

Jan. 16.—Service was held in the open air in camp, with a large military attendance; the Prince and suite, Commander-in-Chief and staff, were also present; my old friend Adams preached. It was a warm day, cloudy; a few drops of rain fell. I went to dine with General and Mrs D. Stewart in their camp in the 4th Division.

Jan. 17.—This morning the Prince inspected the cavalry, and especially the 10th Hussars; the brigade was commanded by Colonel J. Watson, C.B., V.C.; the Prince was much pleased with their appearance and work. We went to see soldiers' games—tent-pegging, sword-exercise, and races. Some of the party dined with the Commander-in-Chief. We started about 10 P.M. for Lahore, and kept ourselves warm with blankets and *resais*, the night being cold. We arrived at Umritsar early in the morning, when there was hoar-frost on the ground.

Jan. 18.—We entered Lahore in full dress. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Davies, with military and civil authorities and native chiefs, was waiting to receive the Prince. We drove in procession to Government House, passing the encampments of the native chiefs pitched along the roadside. The road wound round the fort, and the

sight was most interesting, with the elephants in their gay-coloured trappings, the camels, sowars, and every variety of native troops: salutes were fired and bands played as the Prince passed. There were great crowds of natives along the whole route. The forts, the mosques, and minarets looked very picturesque, and the groups of elephants and attendants were most imposing. Each chief was seated on his elephant, and rose and salaamed as the Prince passed. At Government House a levée was held and a reception of native chiefs; an address from the municipality was offered in a rich casket, and several native chiefs were presented.

Jan. 19.—I went with Sir Bartle and General Maclagan to the Museum, and saw, among other objects, some very interesting Græco-Buddhistic sculptures, and got a copy of a picture of the artificial nose-makers of Kote Kangra. We visited the Mayo Hospital, and were taken over it by Dr Burton Brown. The Prince returned the visits of several of the native chiefs, and opened the Soldiers' Institute at Meean-Meer. In the evening we went to a *fête* at the Shalimar Gardens, where the tanks and fountains, which are numerous and beautiful, were splendidly illuminated, and there were fireworks and music. It was certainly a lovely night, such as perhaps can be seen only in India. The drive home was very cold.

Jan. 20.—After a very dusty journey we reached Wazirabad in about three hours, where we found carriages for our conveyance to Jummoo. We rested for a couple of hours at Sealkote with the 9th Lancers. The maharajah met us about seven miles from Jummoo: on arriving at the river-side we exchanged our carriages for elephants, on which we crossed the river, ascended the steep opposite bank, and entered the city in great state, just as the sun was setting. We did the journey from Wazirabad very quickly, in about eight or nine hours, including the halt at Sealkote. The maharajah, with his son and sirdars, his bodyguard in helmets and cuirasses, made a splendid show. The elephants crossing the river in procession, and the troops—

some fording the clear, pebbly stream of the Towie, which was at this season low and shallow, and some crossing by the bridge—made a most picturesque foreground. The hills, the river, the forts on the heights, and the city of Jummoo, with the distant snowy ranges of the Pir Punjal, made a glorious panorama. We went at once to the great hall of the building, erected for this occasion by the maharajah, where a durbar was held, and then adjourned to the terrace, commanding a fine view of the surrounding country. On the plain below there was a display of fireworks. The city was illuminated, and the effect, as darkness came on, was very beautiful. A dinner-party was given by the Maharajah, at which all the officers and ladies from Sialkote, and from other stations, were present. After dinner there was a nautch.

Jan. 21.—It was not nearly so cold during the night as it was at Lahore. We set off on elephants on a shooting expedition to the low jungle at the foot of the hills, forded the river, and then drove to a covert, where a beat for deer and nylgye was arranged, but there was not much sport—a few pigs and nylgye only were seen. Probyn and I sat on some boulders in the half-dry bed of the river: nothing passed, but we saw pea-fowl and jungle-cock rise, and heard shots from the others in the distance. We reassembled, mounted the elephants which had followed us, and went on to beat over a grassy plain intersected by a stream, where we got a few more pigs. Lunch had been prepared at a bungalow near the road, and after it there was an exhibition of acrobatic performances and cheetah-hunting, in which one or two antelopes were killed, lynx-hunting of hares, foxes, &c., and hunting with different kinds of hawks.

On returning to the palace there was a durbar, at which the sirdars were presented to the Prince, and offered their nuzzers. We then adjourned to dinner in another large hall draped with Cashmere shawls and hung with pictures. The hall looked on to a courtyard with fountains, where there was a beautiful alcove inlaid with mosaic. Then followed

a grotesque dance of Ladak and Lassa llamas in hideous masks, accompanied by the wildest and most barbaric music, part of it produced by long copper tubes, like Alpine horns, on which the performers blew the most dismal discordant blasts. It reminded me of the masks in a Christmas pantomime at home. After this there was a display of fireworks in the courtyard, so near that the smoke nearly suffocated us. Some animals were led into the hall and presented to the Prince, among others a fine Barasingha stag, which looked wild and frightened. He is to go home with us in the Serapis. We then took leave of the maharajah and his son, mounted our elephants, and returned to the camp. It was a clear night, not too cold, and the fresh air and bright starlight were very pleasant after the heat and smoke of the palace. Among other things presented to the Prince by the maharajah was a magnificent sword, richly jewelled, with a splendid diamond in the belt. There was also a great collection of skins, horns, and heads of Himalayan and Cashmerian animals.

Jan. 22.—We left Jummoo this morning, crossed the river on elephants as before, and then got into carriages for Sialkote, and on to Wazirabad, galloping with artillery horses great part of the way. Near Wazirabad one of the Prince's horses broke down and brought the carriage to a sudden stop: the drag following, loaded with passengers, nearly ran into the carriage, only avoiding it by a sudden dexterous swerve, nearly capsizing as it did so, being a very top-heavy vehicle. We got safely to Wazirabad, an event which seemed rather doubtful at times, and found a train waiting, in which we went on a few miles to the new railway bridge over the Chenab, which the Prince opened formally, and then on to Lahore.

Jan. 24.—Several of the residents of Lahore accompanied us to Umritsar. At the town-hall, where there was a presentation of native chiefs, we examined the shawls and other fabrics which were laid out. The artisans were at work, so that the Prince was enabled to see exactly how all the fabrics are made. He then visited one of the mis-

sions, whence he had a fine view of the surrounding country. At General Taylor's house I met my wife's cousin, Nat Spens, of the 72nd: he was commanding the guard of honour, and I presented him to the Prince. At the Golden Temple I met my old friend Sir Sahib Dhial. In the afternoon the Prince drove through the city: the narrow streets were beautifully decorated with coloured cloths and shawls, and as it got dark they were illuminated. We went to the tank and Golden Temple, which were beautifully lighted, but it was not dark enough to do justice to the illumination. The city, the towers, the Golden Temple, and the tank looked very beautiful: there were illuminated inscriptions in Persian on the exterior of the Temple, but we did not go inside, as there was not time. Thence we drove through a dense crowd to the station. At the tank a very old Sikh sirdar was noticed by the Prince, who spoke most kindly to him, much to the old gentleman's delight. At the station I saw some fine old Sikh officers, who probably fought against us during the Sikh war.

At Raipoora the station was brilliantly illuminated and salutes were fired, though it was midnight. The Maharajah of Putialla met the Prince at the station in a general's full-dress uniform. We drove off to his encampment, where a durbar was held, at which his sirdars were presented. After supper the maharajah made a capital speech in Hindustani, having first proposed the Prince's health in English. All this occurred between midnight and 2 A.M. We then drove back to the train. Putialla had this encampment here, as it was the only opportunity the Prince had of paying him a visit—a great honour, for which no trouble had been spared. The maharajah is a fine, handsome young man, of dignified appearance, but looks ill, and it is said his habits are rapidly undermining his health. I know not how far this may be true, nor from what he suffers, but he looks aged and wretchedly ill, though not above twenty-five to thirty years of age.[1]

[1] He died soon after this.

Jan. 25.—At Ghazeabad Lord Napier and Colonel Dillon met the Prince. We then entered Agra, where there was a grand reception at the station, the Lieutenant-Governor, all the officials, and many natives of rank being present. We mounted richly caparisoned elephants and went to camp, which is situated on the maidan. The Prince rode a magnificent tusker, specially selected for the occasion, with a splendid howdah and gold-and-scarlet trappings. A very famous old tusker, well known for many years, and that had carried all the governor-generals since Lord Cornwallis's time, it is said, was to have had this honour, but he died two months ago: his successor was certainly a noble animal. There were about 170 elephants, including those of native chiefs. They made a glorious sight as they slowly moved on past the fort and up the rising ground to the camp. On reaching our camp the Prince, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the suites halted, whilst the rest of the elephants in the procession marched past. The day was fine, but very windy and dusty, rather detracting from the beauty and the pleasure of the spectacle. The road to the camp was decorated with triumphal arches, flags, and inscriptions; stands covered with gaudy drapery were erected on the roadside, and crowded with people, from whom came much cheering and waving of handkerchiefs. The road was lined with troops, and salutes were fired. The day had been rather tiring. The Prince keeps very well, and in good spirits. His strength and energy are wonderful,—he never seems to tire!

Jan. 26.—This morning there was a levée and reception of native chiefs, European officers, and civilians from Agra and other stations. This is the twentieth levée the Prince has held. Among those presented were Bundi, Bikaneer, Kishenghur, Bhurtpore, Ulwar, Tonk, Dholepore, Oorcha, Rampore, and Datta.

Jan. 28.—A limited party left Agra this morning for Bhurtpore. The maharajah met us at the station, and after visiting the palace and driving through the city we

went off to the jungle. There were plenty of deer, antelope, and nylgye. We got back to camp about eight, and went to a ball at the Dewan-i-am given by Sir John Strachey. The magnificent hall was beautifully decorated and filled with visitors.

Jan. 29.—The Prince, Sir John Strachey, and the suite drove to Futtehpore Sikri. We went over the magnificent ruins of Akbar's short-lived city, saw the tomb of Shekh Selim Chisty, the Elephant Tower, the Begum's houses, and other interesting buildings, and watched the divers jump into the well from great heights; we looked at the inscription on the Bulund-Durwazah, in which our Saviour is mentioned, and then went to lunch in one of the deserted palaces. I sent a letter to the Queen to-day, besides several others.

Jan. 30.—There was service in camp under a *shamianah* at 11 A.M., the men being out in the open. The sun was very hot, and some of the men had to fall out.

Jan. 31.—We left camp early for Gwalior, and went rapidly over the kunkered road. At Dholpore, about halfway, the Prince was received and entertained at lunch by the Rana of Dholpore, a very bright intelligent boy of twelve or fourteen, who speaks English well, and is under the charge of my old friend Major Dennehy, his political agent. The road crosses the Chumbul near Dholpore; there Scindia's territory commences, and his officials met us at the ghât. The clear blue river looked very bright and refreshing after the hot, dusty road, and parched ground on each side of it: its banks are here intersected by a number of deep ravines. We had come seventy-five miles due south of Agra. When Scindia met us near Gwalior, we mounted elephants and went in procession through the Lushker, the name given to the city: its narrow streets were decorated, and crowded with people. On arriving at the Phool Bagh, a large quadrangular building under the fortress on the rock of Gwalior, Scindia held a durbar, at which we were presented to him. General Sir Henry Daly,

Mr Thomas Hope, and many other officers from Morar, the military station near Gwalior, were present. Gwalior is, I believe, one of the hottest stations in India.

Feb. 1.—The Prince went to see a sham fight on the plain near the palace. The troops looked well, particularly the artillery and cavalry, which manœuvred cleverly, passing in review at full gallop. Hall and I watched the proceedings from an elephant; others were on horseback. I wrote to General Ramsay and Mr Girdlestone, who are to accompany us in the Terai, to ask them to diminish the number of followers in our shooting camp, as a precaution against cholera, of which there has been a rumour. The disease is abroad, more or less, everywhere. This certainly has been a cholera year.

We went to visit the rock fortress of Gwalior, which towers above the palace, and looks impregnable, though we took it easily enough, by surprising the defenders. Scindia is exceedingly anxious that it should be restored to him by the British Government, as one can easily understand, seeing that it is in the very heart of his camp, its guns commanding the city and palace.[1] We travelled back by the same road, and halted at Dholpore, when the young Rana again entertained us. Probyn came to me and said that the Prince wanted General Browne, himself, and me, and that we were to follow into a side-room as soon as he rose and went there. Lunch over, the Prince rose from table and went into the next room, we three following. The Prince told us very graciously and kindly that a telegram had come to the Viceroy from the Queen, saying that we were to be made Knights Commanders of the Star of India, and that Lord Northbrook had said something very kind about me. His Royal Highness said he hoped to hold a Chapter of the order and invest us himself before we left India. This was the first I had heard of it, and doubtless the Prince and Lord Northbrook must have recommended it to the Queen, who telegraphed assent. Glyn,

[1] This was subsequently done.

Ellis, Bradford, and Henderson are to be Companions, as well as Colonel Earle, the military secretary to the Viceroy, and Captain Baring, his private secretary. Directly after this we set off for Agra, where we found it much cooler than at Gwalior. The Prince narrowly escaped an accident: his carriage nearly got into the ditch, owing to the swerving of the horses, but the gunner riding the leader averted the accident by great presence of mind and dexterity. I hear he has been rewarded.

Feb. 3.—Last night was fresh and rather cold. Whilst at dinner a message came to say that Prince Louis of Battenberg, who had gone on a pig-sticking expedition near Muttra, had had a fall. The Prince asked me to go off immediately to see him. Sir John Strachey lent me his carriage, I got four artillery horses, and sent on four others as a relay, giving them an hour's start. It was a bitterly cold, though bright, starlight night. We drove out twenty-five miles on the Muttra road with the same horses, for those sent on in advance had strayed, and we could not find them. I found Prince Louis in a little dâk bungalow near the roadside: he had had a concussion of the brain and a broken collar-bone, but had regained consciousness before I arrived. I bandaged up his collar-bone, and after seeing that all was well, left him with C. Beresford, and one of the medical officers of the 10th, who had come out from Muttra. I was back in Agra by 7 A.M., and started with the rest for Jeypore.

Feb. 4.—At Bhurtpore the maharajah, his sirdars and political officer, received the Prince, who drove to the palace. At Jeypore we were received by the maharajah, his sirdars, Colonel Beynon the political agent, and others. Near the gates we mounted elephants and went in procession through the city to the Residency.

Feb. 5.—At 8 A.M. the Prince, Aylesford, Carrington, Rose, Lord A. Paget, Bradford, Hall, I, and one or two others, went out to some hills covered with low jungle, about four miles from the town, where there are tigers.

We had only two or three elephants, as the shooting was to be from a blockhouse built on one of the ridges, and commanding the path a tiger was likely to take. Lord Carrington and I remained at the foot of the hill on an elephant, on broken ground; the Prince and attendants rode along a path which led up the hill, and soon we saw them on the top of the blockhouse. The beat then advanced from the other side. Keeping an eye on the jungle below the Prince, we were ready if the tiger should come our way. I had a No. 12 rifle. After a time we saw movements on the blockhouse and heard the beaters, and, soon after, a shot or two, and then we saw a tiger come over the brow of the hill slowly, as if wounded. As it crept along the side it rolled over and fell into a clump of bushes. We immediately sent the elephant up for the Prince to follow the tiger, and then moved slowly towards where it was lying wounded, about 200 yards ahead of us. The Prince by this time was coming down the hill. We pointed out the place where the tiger appeared, and just at this moment he fired. The tiger had got up, and turned back round the shoulder of the hill: we followed but could not see it. Beaters came up and threw in stones and *anars* (fireworks), but it made no sign. The Prince was standing in a spot where, if the tiger moved, it must be seen, and as we felt sure it had not passed, I expected a charge, as I thought the animal was wounded and lying close, sulking, in the low thick jungle. We went round a hillock to get at the spot where it might be lying, to try and make it move, when hearing some of the beaters shouting, we scrambled up the side of the hill, and there found it lying quite dead in a thick clump of grass, a fine tigress, 8 feet 2 inches in length. She had been hit twice, if not thrice. The Prince had hit her from the *oody* (blockhouse), and again when she turned, after he came down the hill. The maharajah was much pleased, as this was the Prince's first tiger. We then left the jungle and had luncheon in an old palace. The shade of fine trees and

some deliciously cool running water were very refreshing: here we drank to the Prince's first tiger!

We rode back. Before dark the tigress was brought in and photographed, with the Prince and those of his suite who were with him when he killed it. There was a durbar and dinner-party, and a nautch after dinner. The maharajah came in at dessert and proposed the Queen's health; the Prince then proposed the maharajah's health. On the sides of the hills overlooking the city were words of welcome in illuminated letters of 60 feet high: fireworks concluded the entertainment. The Maharajah of Jodhpore's brother, Pertab Sing, is with us, acting as aide-de-camp to the Prince: he was with H.R.H. at Delhi, and is a fine specimen of a young Rajpoot chief—rides and shoots well.

Feb. 6.—The maharajah is a very agreeable, clever little man, a Rajpoot of ancient lineage: he has done, and is doing, much for the improvement of his State, having almost rebuilt the city, which is really very picturesque, being regularly and systematically laid out in wide streets, with buildings of considerable architectural pretension. The maharajah took us over his palace, which has a great variety of rooms, beautifully furnished, and containing some good statuary. It is several stories high, and is ascended by a winding incline without steps. We examined an exhibition of art manufactures laid out in a great hall near the palace. The ancient city and fortress of Ambeer are most picturesque, and reminded one of the medieval castles in Europe. We wandered over the ancient buildings, saw the ruins, courtyards, gardens, and temples, all in a neglected state, but showing how magnificent they had been in former times, when this was the capital of Jeypore. On our way back the Prince stopped to lay the foundation-stone of the Albert Hall. I returned to the Residency to meet some of my old pupils who are at work here, and who presented me with an address and a pretty little casket of inlaid work. It was very good of them, and showed that they remembered the day when I was their teacher in

THE PRINCE'S FIRST TIGER.

Calcutta. I shall always have a pleasant remembrance of my old Indian pupils.

Feb. 7.—I went to see the Mayo Hospital, built in honour of Lord Mayo, and was very much pleased with it. It is under the care of one of my old pupils. The statue of Lord Mayo, which has been erected near the hospital, is a good likeness. The people of Jeypore were devoted to him, and well they might be, for he was one of the best friends they ever had. The maharajah has presented the Prince with many beautiful specimens of Jeypore work, which is justly celebrated: he also intimated his desire to present each of the suite with a souvenir. When we returned to Agra I went to pay the Central Jail a visit: it is under the care of another old pupil, Dr Tyler, whose administration is excellent. We saw all the fabrics made by the prisoners, and I got a few specimens. We left Agra in the evening, and arrived at Moradabad next morning.

Feb. 8.—We were met by General Ramsay, the Hon. R. Drummond, and other officials, and drove towards the hills at a rapid pace, arriving at our first camp, at Baraini, on the edge of the forest which skirts the lower range of hills. Here we found numerous tents, with elephants posted here and there, and all the requirements of a shooting camp. A party, composed of the Prince, Lord Suffield, Probyn, C. Beresford, Fitz-George, Lord A. Paget, Rose, and myself, drove on as far as Kaladoongee, where we found ponies waiting to take us up to Naini Tal. Half-way up, about nine miles, we changed ponies, and found refreshments ready. I had a capital beast, and he went up the hill gallantly, trotting the whole way. In ascending, the flora gradually changes, and the pine begins just about where the plantain ends, though they may be seen growing side by side. When near Naini Tal we diverged from the path and ascended a higher ridge, where we had a fine view of the snowy ranges in the distance. Nunda Devi—over 25,000 feet high—and other snowy peaks were visible. There was much cloud gathered about the lower parts of the snowy

range, but the snow-capped summits were seen above. We passed the pretty little lake of the Bheem Tal, and at length, after descending from the ridge, arrived at the station of Naini Tal, with its houses picturesquely perched on ledges and terraces at various heights above the lake, which fills the crater of an extinct volcano. We were lodged at St Loo, a house belonging to Mr Drummond, beautifully situated high above the lake. Fires were burning, and they looked quite English. It was not perceptibly colder than the previous night in the plains, though I imagine we have ascended nearly 8000 feet.

Feb. 9.—I got up early in the morning, and at a point on one of the higher ridges had a magnificent view of many of the high peaks far beyond the intervening ridges which rise to a variety of elevations until they culminate in tremendous mountains,—Mount Everest, which is best seen from Darjeeling, being nearly 30,000 feet, the highest peak in the world. Soon after breakfast we rode down the hill, leaving the station by a different route. A few rhododendrons were in blossom, and very lovely they were; later, when they are all in flower, it must be a blaze of colour. We had a pleasant ride down, and a mile or two beyond Kaladoongee met the elephants with howdahs, and then began the first beat for large game. With the line of elephants we beat over a variety of excellent cover, but did not find a tiger. A few hog-deer, cheetul, pig, and some black partridges were killed: we then went into camp at Baraini in time for dinner. I had a return of my old malarial trouble, but it soon passed over. To-day was merely a beginning, to get the elephants together, and to arrange guns, howdahs, and attendants. We have a large line of elephants. The weather is beautiful, and very cold at night; there was quite a sharp frost last night.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA—*continued.*

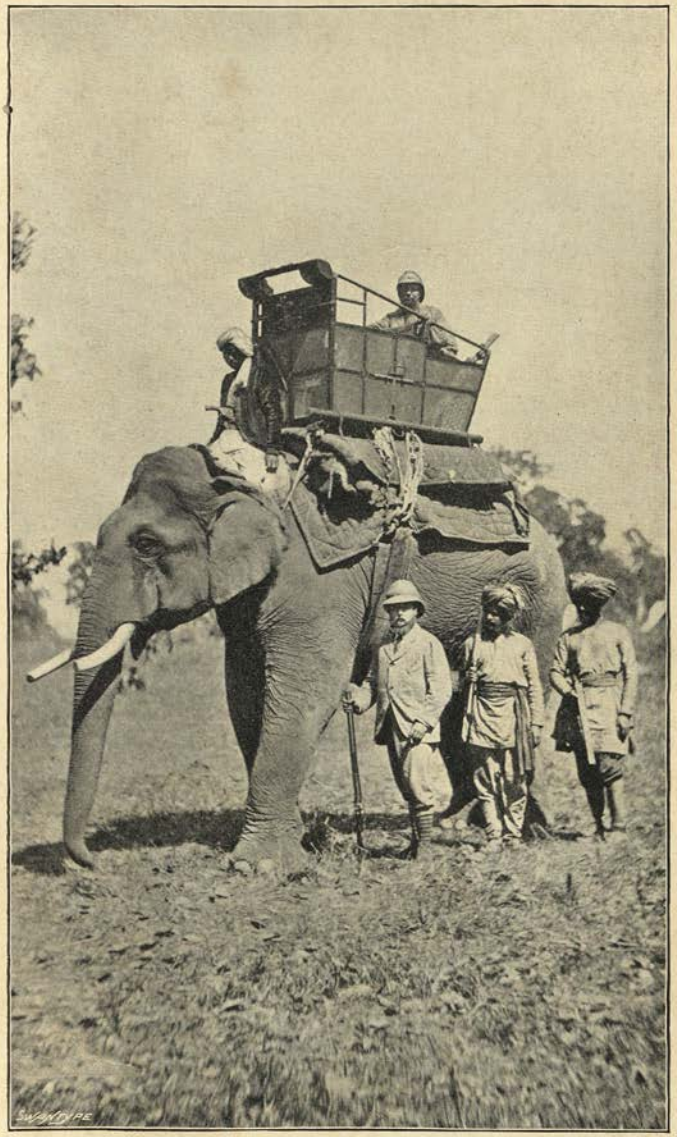
Camp in the Terai—Arrangements for shooting—First leopard killed—Camp, Peepul Parao—Character of country—Game—Camp-fires at night—Description of forest—Beat for tigers—Two black bears killed—Uncha gown—Bear and first tigress killed—More tigers killed—Meet Jung Bahadur—Accompany him to camp to see his grandchildren—River Sarda—Sir Jung Bahadur's encampment with 1000 *elephants—Fighting elephants—Nepaul Terai—Nepaulese durbar—Seven tigers killed in one day—Nepaulese elephants—Elephant-hunt—Exciting chase of wild tusker—Meet with accident—Frequent changes of camp—Return to Lahore to see Canon Duckworth, ill—Return to Allahabad to meet the Prince.*

Feb. 10.—The old familiar sounds of elephants and mahouts outside my tent have an irresistible attraction. Sir Henry Ramsay has his camp near us. We have a large number of followers of all kinds, including escorts: there is a troop of Irregular Cavalry of Probyn's old regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Prinsep, and other guards. I have with me two 12 smooth-bores that carry ball or shot, and a 12 double rifle. Bradford has brought with him some sowars of the Central India Horse, and these he has most kindly distributed among the suite to look after their guns and accompany them in the howdah. I am to have a Mohammedan named Akbar. We started with a line of about 100 elephants, and beat across a grassy plain, intersected here and there by deep nullahs. We soon came on a leopard, and after rather a sharp chase we killed it almost

under the elephant's feet. We then went on to some low jungle, and beyond it a heavy swamp with long grass, in which we beat for a tiger. We put a large one out, and the Prince had a snap-shot as it crossed a nullah, but it got away. The grass is just beginning to be burnt here and there, but it is still extensive. We had plenty of small-game shooting.

Feb. 11.—We move our camp to-day to Peepul Parao, about twelve miles east of our present position. We formed two parties and commenced beating soon after leaving camp. Our beat lay across grassy plains, with occasionally a heavy swamp sometimes bordered by tree jungle, a splendid cover for tigers! We found one recent kill, but no tiger; a deer, some partridges, and florican were all we got; one party got two gond, some hog-deer, and partridges. All are provided with light clothing, with quilted pads along the spine, and large solah hats. After dinner in camp, we had a log-fire, round which we sat till a late hour. The night was lovely, the stars brilliant, and the fresh, cool air delightful.

Feb. 12.—We made two parties, I was with the Prince, and we beat in the direction of our new camp. We crossed grassy plains, belts of forest, and swamps, which are green and luxuriant with the long grasses that sometimes reach above the howdah. Here we got hog-deer, gond, partridges, and florican. Towards the afternoon, in traversing a very wild belt of forest, the Rajah of Kassipore and I got separated from the rest of the party, and as we were working our way through the trees, came on a leopard that had just killed a spotted deer. There were branches intervening when my eye first caught the object, and at that moment the leopard sprang away into the cover that was thick all round the spot. I pressed on, and a minute or two after put it up out of some long grass. I had a snap-shot, but it got away, and as the camp was distant, we gave up the search. We passed through some beautiful forest glades with deep swamps and long grass, magnificent cover for game of all



THE PRINCE OF WALES'S SHOOTING ELEPHANT.

kinds, and reached our new camp at Tanda about 6 P.M. After dinner we sat round the camp-fire, and the game was inspected.

Feb. 13.—We halted to-day. We are all well in camp, and 'Kellett keeps a strict watch on the sanitary arrangements.

Feb. 14.—We had a tedious beat through extensive plains of long grass, belts of forest, and swamps, but all too dense and extensive. We heard a tiger, but could not find him. The range of thick cover is so wide that they can escape easily, and a tiger always does so if possible. We took to general shooting, and got some hog-deer, cheetul, hares, and black partridges: it was quite dark before we got to our new camp. The Prince killed two very fine black bears, two large boars, and several deer, with small game. We traversed some very wild, desolate country towards sundown: as we neared the camp it looked like a large town with its numerous lights and varied sounds. I got home letters, and also a very kind letter from General Ponsonby, written by her Majesty's direction. After dinner we sat by a log-fire. The game was then inspected. Mr Bartlett, our taxidermist, was hard at work skinning the bears and the deer. The bears (*Ursus labiatus*) are the finest I have seen.

Feb. 15.—We had not so long a beat to-day, and found excellent cover. As we were crossing a piece of ground—half grass, half tree jungle, the surface tolerably open—I heard a shot to my left, and found that Colvin had fired at and killed a she-bear, with two cubs a few weeks old. She was killed on the spot: it was quite touching to see how the little cubs clung to their dead mother, and fought and screamed when taken away. It was necessary at last to quiet them by putting them on her body, which was placed on an elephant and sent into camp. After this we got a tiger when beating through a heavy nul swamp: Probyn and I were on the right bank. Lord Suffield, who was on the other side, which bordered the forest, saw a tigress strike down a deer. At this moment she was disturbed by

the advancing line of elephants, immediately left the deer, and entered the heavy swamp, out of which she was almost immediately beaten by the advancing line. There was the usual trumpeting and noise of the elephants, a growl or two, and out she charged, forty yards ahead, across a grassy plain, making for a belt of forest beyond it. All who saw her fired, and she fell. She was a fine tigress, and probably had left cubs in the forest. We beat on towards our new camp, and got six or eight deer and a quantity of black partridges.

Feb. 16.—We moved to-day to a new camp some miles farther east, named Seesona. We returned to the swamp where the tigress was killed yesterday, as we thought we might find her mate, but were disappointed. We then turned in the direction of our new camp, and beat over grassy plains, through deep nullahs and heavy swamps. In one of these, two elephants stuck and were long in extricating themselves, shrieking loudly all the time.

Feb. 17.—We went in two parties again to-day and beat for a tiger that had recently killed a man near a Bunjarah village, but the grass and forest were too extensive.

Feb. 18.—We had a line of 120 elephants and beat over a very extensive plain of grass, where we saw many florican, black partridges, hog-deer, and some fine gond stags. Some of the long grass was set on fire, and made a magnificent blaze: it continued burning for a long time, and the sky was full of smoke. Near a village, and close to the banks of a stream, we found a fine tiger, and killed him after some good sport.

Feb. 19.—Mounting our horses, we rode across the plain and through tracks in the forest to our new camp. A space had been cleared and a road cut through the sâl-trees, which abound here, right up to the camp near the bank of the river. Sir Jung Bahadur, with his brother Ranadeep Sing and two of his sons, with many other sirdars and followers, met us on horseback and rode with us into camp, where a durbar tent and some *shamianahs* were pitched: here Sir

Jung formally paid his respects and presented his chiefs. He had by this time changed his costume to a magnificent military uniform, with a head-dress of great value—according to some, of £20,000—and on it a ruby, round and big as a marble, given him by the Emperor of China. His chiefs were dressed in military uniform, with turbans and ornaments of a crescent form. Every Nepaulese, whatever his rank or condition, carries a kookerie of some kind. After the reception the Prince told me that Sir Jung's two young grandchildren were ill in his camp, across the Sarda, and that the maharajah was anxious that I should go and see them. At this juncture he made his appearance dressed in a plain white dress, and mounted on a very clever-looking Chinese pony, so I rode with him. The Chinese pony's pace was marvellous, a sort of running amble, which kept my Arab at a hand-gallop the whole way. We rode along a path cut through the forest—very wild and beautiful—near the river: the rapids could be heard rushing close to us. We crossed the river by a bridge of bamboos. The Sarda is a beautiful stream of rapidly-flowing clear water, dividing into several branches, as it descends from the hills, to reunite in the main stream. We crossed six or seven such streams, by bamboo bridges thrown over them for the present occasion, which are strong enough to carry a man and horse or a loaded cart. We came to Sir Jung's tents on the opposite bank, pitched among seesu-trees, and surrounded by a large native camp. I found the two children suffering from whooping-cough.

Sir Jung took me to see his favourite fighting elephant, Jung Pershad, which was chained to a large tree near his camp. He was a magnificent brute, the largest male elephant I have ever seen: he had only one tusk, but that a very fine one. A man was sitting on his back, and he was playing with some sugar-cane: he will allow no one but his own attendant near him. He was must: no male elephant dare go near him at present, and at all times he is of uncertain temper. He is said to be nearly 11 feet high,

and his bulk is enormous. Mr Girdlestone, the Resident at Katmandoo, is with Sir Jung Bahadur, and a large escort of Nepaulese troops. The camp is enormous: he has 800 to 1000 elephants with him, and 4000 or 5000 men. When Sir Jung breaks up his camp the huts are set fire to, and the country is lighted up by the blaze. On receiving the Prince, Sir Jung presented a letter from the King, Maharaj Diraj, of Nepaul, inviting the Prince into his country. Sir Jung, on his own part and on that of his sovereign, proffered his services, and expressed anxiety to do all in their power to make the Prince's visit agreeable.

Feb. 20.—We crossed the river in the afternoon to our new camp near Sir Jung's. We are now in the Nepaul Terai, and the name of the new site is Jummoah, a clearing in the sâl and seesu forest. We took the same route as yesterday. The Prince was received by Sir Jung, his sirdars, troops, a band of music, and a royal salute, as we entered his dominions. He looks rather older than he did in 1870, and stoops a little, but is still wiry and active: his Mongolian face is as bright and intelligent as ever. On arriving in Sir Jung's camp the Prince interviewed Jung Pershad and two pythons, one of the latter in a hole in the ground, the other on a branch of a tree; and to bring him nearer, as he declined to move or uncoil himself, the branch was cut and fell to the ground: the snake, which was 12 feet long, then uncoiled himself, and shortly after took refuge in the tree again. After dinner Sir Jung appeared, proposed the health of the Queen and Princess, and expressed his joy at seeing the Prince in Nepaul. Before dinner, and when we were inspecting the elephants and pythons, Sir Jung made some of his men display their skill in cutting through branches with their kookeries. A durbar was held by Sir Jung in full dress and diamonds, when the ceremony of presenting the suite was repeated.

The sound of the Sarda rushing over its pebbly bed, and the breeze sighing through the trees, are very pleasant and soothing, and full of reminiscences of former days. The

camp is healthy. I don't hear that Sir Jung has any sickness—if he has, he keeps it out of sight.

Feb. 21.—A great hunt is organised for to-day: there is news of several tigers, and Sir Jung has scouts out in all directions. A tiger killed a cow last night very near our camp. We set off with a long line of elephants — some hundreds—and beat a dense patch of tree and grass jungle, which was entirely surrounded by a ring of elephants. Into this circle the Prince, Probyn, and I went, on our elephants, with Sir Jung, in a great square howdah, on a magnificent tusker. No one was to fire but the Prince. The elephants soon told us that we were near a tiger, and almost immediately one passed close to my elephant, growling. We were in dense jungle at the time, which almost concealed him from the Prince's view, but he had a shot and wounded him, and immediately after we came on him crouching in a patch of underwood. Being roused, he charged with the usual short, fierce growls or grunts: the Prince fired twice and killed him. He was a fine, full-grown male tiger, 9 feet 6 inches in length, with a grand head. We then returned to our horses, rode back to camp, and after some refreshment—it was about noon—went in the opposite direction away into the depths of the forest. As we crossed a large branch of the river, a procession of some hundreds of elephants filed past. We stopped to watch a sight such as, I suppose, was never before seen by European eye. Our beat lay through the thick forest and near the river, which forms many an island by its diverging branches. After beating for some time we put up a tiger, which the Prince wounded; but it crossed the dry bed of a stream to a patch of grass in the forest, where it disappeared. We followed, and now there was a general scrimmage, for we got into a nest of tigers on a sort of peninsula, with a branch of the river on one side and the dry bed of a stream on the other, covered with very long and thick grass, and occasional clumps of forest trees. In a couple of hours no less than six tigers were killed, the Prince killing two with a single shot each. Some of

them fought well, and made several charges. Others lay sulking in the long grass, or rushed growling at the elephants, trying to break through the ring; but they stood firm, and though the tigers came right up to their legs, none failed. No opening was practicable, and they had to turn back into the long grass, where the Prince and Sir Jung went right up to them. I saw them frequently, as I was close to the Prince, and kept my rifle ready in case of emergency, and it seemed likely enough in such close quarters one might arise. Two at last broke away towards the forest and were shot.

Feb. 22.—To-day we made an expedition in pursuit of wild elephants. There was a parade of selected pad elephants, and one was detailed for each of our party. We were to ride them in chase of the wild elephants. Mine was a two-thirds grown female, said to be very fleet. She was driven by a wild Nepaulese, with long black hair, and a kookerie in his kummerbund, and an equally wild-looking young savage was to ride behind and apply the *moogrie* (spiked club), which hung suspended from the ropes that fastened on a very small pad, less than 3 feet square, with a great opening in the middle to fit the ridge on the elephant's back. On this I was to sit, not sideways, but straddling just behind the mahout, who cautioned me in broken Hindustani, of which he could speak only a few words, to hold on firmly to the rope that secured the pad. Having mounted, we set off —a large party—with an immense number of elephants of all sizes accompanying us: many had gone on ahead, and with them Jung Pershad, Bijli Pershad, and other fighting males, as we expected to capture a big tusker that has long been known in these parts, and is reported to be with the herd. The Prince, with some of the party, rode horses for the first few miles, and got on the elephants on reaching the forest. We crossed several miles of ground after leaving camp, and then pushed on at a great pace through the wild and almost pathless jungle. A halt was called; we dismounted and had some food. I got off very stiff and rather

SOME OF THE HOWDAHS.

tired with this novel mode of travelling. Sir Jung soon called on us to mount again and retrace our steps through the forest, for news had come from some of the outlying scouts that the wild elephants were behind. Some were said to be to the right or left of the path by which we had come, so off we went again, Sir Jung and the Prince leading, at a greater pace than ever. We came upon Bijli Pershad with his mahout standing in an opening in the forest. He had met and engaged one of the wild elephants which had got away, though others were in pursuit of him. However, on we went, and a mile farther on came to a solitary elephant tied securely by the legs, and looking very sheepish and ashamed of himself. This turned out to be a wild *mukhna* that Bijli and his companions had caught, and there he was left bound, whilst they had gone in pursuit of others: he looked very much like any other elephant, only covered with dried mud and in low condition. At a distance I saw some other pads, scattered over the country: they were, no doubt, watching the herd. We went straight into camp, getting home about seven o'clock. It was a most exciting day. It turned out that, besides the *mukhna*, some smaller elephants were captured, and were brought in later. I had ridden fifty miles at least on my pad—the only rest I had was when I changed for a short time on to another elephant with the Rajah of Kassipore, who had gone part of the way with us on a large and comfortable pad: we overtook him on returning, and for the last few miles I rode with him. I made myself agreeable to my Nepaulese mahout by giving him some birds'-eye tobacco, which he *ate* with great relish. I need hardly say I was stiff and tired after my ride, and glad to go to bed.

Feb. 23.—Sir Henry Ramsay has left us to return to his own district. We made two parties and recrossed the Sarda into British territory, to a celebrated find for tigers—known as Chiryah Dhan—and had a long beat in grass and jungle, saw plenty of deer, jungle fowl, and partridges, but did not

fire at them, as we had hopes of finding a tiger. In beating a long strip of low tree and grass jungle with a deep nullah running through it, a tiger was put up, but got away into the forest, which was close at hand. We beat another very heavy swamp, generally a sure find; but the cover was too heavy, and we got nothing: indeed we could not beat through the whole swamp, and there may have been a tiger in it. Towards evening, as we were beating homewards through some long grass, I came on the remains of a newly-killed cheetul, when immediately the elephants gave sign. A moment after a large tiger cantered across the plain, breaking from the long grass. I fired and hit him, others also fired; and C. Beresford, Fitz-George, and I following as hard as we could, hit him again, and he fell. We padded our tiger, which was a full-grown male, and then beat on, shooting deer, partridges, and hares; recrossed the river, entered the seesu forest, and did not get to camp till after dark. It was very wild and weird in the dark forest, and crossing the Sarda, which was so deep and rapid that some of the smaller elephants had to swim. The Prince had already arrived: they had killed a tigress and caught a young cub about two or three months old.

Feb. 24.—We moved camp this morning from Jummoah to Mowleah. I posted letters to-day for home, and a long one to General Ponsonby, giving him an account of our doings and of the state of health. After lunch we got into our howdahs, Sir Jung accompanying us with about 500 elephants. In the forest near the camp, a leopard having been surrounded, the Prince went in and shot him. We then beat on through long grass and forest, crossed several deep ravines, put up a tiger and lost it, but soon after found another, and having followed it, Sir Jung, by most skilful manœuvring, surrounded it with a circle of elephants. The Prince fired and wounded it. It would not move, and one elephant crushed down a tree almost across its back, but with no effect. At last charging through the line, it tried to bite an elephant's leg, and then dropped into a deep nullah,

and swimming across, was killed by the Prince. It was a small but very vicious tigress.

Feb. 25.—We mounted our horses and rode with Sir Jung in the direction of the hills, the pad and fighting elephants having been sent on before. We were to take post in a valley, where the wild tusker was to be driven, and to be tackled by Jung Pershad. We rode several miles over very rough and difficult ground, ascended a spur of the hills, and rested whilst inquiry was being made from the people who were directing the movements of the hunting elephants. We were soon required to mount again, and, passing over some very difficult ground and crossing one or two dry river-beds—where our Arabs scrambled like cats—we came to the valley between two spurs of the hills, took our seats, and waited on boulders and ledges on the hillside. The wild tusker was said to be in the forest at the head of the valley, whence he was to be driven down into the watercourse of stones and boulders that lay beneath us. Here it was intended that he should be encountered by Jung Pershad, who was slowly coming up from below. After waiting some time, however, reports came that the tusker was making off in another direction. Sir Jung immediately descended into the valley, and, mounting on the shoulders of two of his men, rode up it, crossed, and disappeared in the forest on the other side. We soon saw him coming back, when he reported that the tusker had crossed the hill and made off to another valley leading to the forest on the plain. We mounted, and after a rapid ride over bad ground took post in a patch of tree jungle by the edge of another valley. Sir Jung soon received a report that the elephant was coming right down upon us, and he made us all climb up trees to be out of his way, the men being scattered about in all directions. The tusker did not come, however, but a report came that he had crossed to the other side and was off as hard as he could go to the forest below. We mounted and galloped after him, across stony beds of watercourses, through the forest, jumping fallen trees, ducking our heads under projecting branches, tearing

through long grass, surrounded on all sides by the pads that were making in the direction taken by the elephant. After galloping for some distance, generally hidden from each other by the long grass, we heard a shout that he was visible, and almost immediately I caught sight of his huge back rushing along ahead of us. He soon emerged on an open plain, where the grass was short, and was making off across it to a distant belt of forest. The Prince and several others rode close after him at full speed: he charged several times with his trunk extended, his tail on end, and giving a wild scream. After chasing one or other for a few hundred yards he turned and made again for the forest. My Arab, becoming very much excited, plunged so violently that it was some moments before I could control and turn him in pursuit, and when I did so the elephant was well ahead. He had just disappeared in the forest, and the Prince and the rest were close on him, when suddenly, and whilst at full speed, I saw a deep oblong pit in the grass, right under my horse's nose: he could neither stop nor avoid it, so sprang, and down to the bottom we went. Plunging forward on his head, he rolled over on me. In the effort to keep my seat as he fell I felt something in my right thigh give way with a sharp pain near the hip. I thought I had dislocated my hip-joint. He struggled up without hurting me, and the opposite end of the pit being broken down as if by water, after one or two ineffectual attempts he got out and galloped away into the forest after the others. I picked myself up, and found I was much shaken and in great pain, but as I could swing the leg backwards and forwards I knew the joint was not dislocated nor the bone broken, though the limb was disabled and very painful. Numbers of pad elephants were by this time passing; some stopped, and from among them one of Sir Jung's sirdars brought one up for me. They pulled me out, and lifted me on to the pad. I insisted on following the others, though they wanted to take me back to camp. I was shaken and stiff, and my leg very painful, but not otherwise hurt. I had jumped into an old elephant *obi*, a pit for catching wild

elephants, but it had been for years neglected, and becoming partially filled with grass and leaves, was quite soft at the bottom—hence my escape!

We pushed on with my pad, a regular wild Nepaulese tusker, passed through the end of the spit of forest, and came out on the margin of a swamp in which the wild elephant had taken shelter. Many of the pads were standing about, and on an eminence overlooking it, just at the edge of the forest, the Prince and the other horsemen were assembled. My mahout pointed out the upper part of the elephant's back, and we could hear him moving among the grass, occasionally snorting, and throwing water to cool his sides. All stood ready for a bolt if he should charge out, and once or twice he threatened to do so, when immediately we were off at a speed that could only be accomplished by a trained Nepaulese elephant. This pace gave me exquisite pain, for my leg was getting momentarily stiffer. However, he did *not* come out, seeming to prefer the shelter of the swamp. The object was to detain him there till Jung Pershad should come up, and we soon heard the sound of the heavy bell round his neck. I went round to the other side of the swamp, and found the Prince and party on the height. They were glad to see me, as my horse had galloped past them in the forest, and they did not know what had become of me. Jung Pershad now arrived: his great size and bulk make him slow, but he moves in a very stately manner, with his head well raised in the air. His mahout was on his neck, whilst the piadah was standing on his back near the tail, holding on to the ropes. He seemed to understand exactly what he had to do, for he went straight into the swamp and at once engaged the wild tusker, who received him gallantly. The struggle only lasted a minute or two. Jung Pershad, stimulated by his mahout and his own feelings, pressed the tusker hard, which soon gave way, and appearing in the open, produced a general scattering of the pads. He was too much occupied, however, with his own affairs to notice them, and made off, followed and butted by Jung, in

the direction of some broken ground. He soon left his heavy antagonist behind and got to the cover he sought, but did not remain there long, as the horsemen were on his track again: he made repeated angry charges at them, first at one, then at another. It was very exciting and certainly dangerous, and I felt anxious about the Prince, who was often very near the elephant, — if the horse had fallen! However, no accident happened, and the tusker made off, but, turning back, entered the wood through which he had originally come. We followed, when just as he emerged on the plain he was met and encountered by Bijli Pershad, who brought him to his bearings: with the aid of others who then came up he was captured, and the men getting down secured his legs with ropes. He made one or two efforts to escape, but his captors were too many for him, and he was ultimately secured to a tree. Sir Jung discovering that he was very old, blind of one eye, and had only one tusk, let him go the next morning, having cut off his tusk, which the Prince retains as a trophy. Near the swamp where the wild tusker took refuge we found the body of a recently defunct elephant, which was tainting the air: it was one of those that had been caught a few days ago, but had made its escape and probably died of its injuries.

On returning to camp I was lifted off the elephant and taken into my tent. Kellett examined me: my right thigh was already discoloured down to the knee, and it was found that I had torn one of the muscles. It became very painful, and I was kept in bed: fomentations, however, gave some relief. The Prince and my companions came to see me. It has been a grand day's sport, and the Prince is delighted.

Feb. 26.—I had a restless night, as my leg was painful, and I was obliged to keep in bed all day. I got letters from home to-day; and also a very kind and gracious letter from the Queen, approving of all I had done, and thanking me. Two parties went out to-day, the Prince and Sir Jung being with one: they got no tigers, but some deer and small game. The other party got two tigers and some deer.

SIR JUNG BAHADUR'S FIGHTING ELEPHANT, JUNG PERSHAD.

One tiger charged an elephant, getting hold of the howdah: it was shaken off, and immediately seized Ellis's elephant, and got on its head, scratching the mahout and getting very near Ellis. He killed it. It was a powerful tiger, very vicious and active: it only measured 9 feet 5 inches, but was very heavy, had a large head and light-coloured skin. As it had just been feeding, it was remarkable that it should be so active. I got out of my tent with the aid of a stick to look at it. My leg is rapidly mending, and every one is very kind. Kellett went out to look after the sportsmen to-day, and dressed the mahout's wounds, who was slightly scratched by the tiger.

Feb. 27.—It was a warm, sultry night, and a few drops of rain fell. I remained in my tent nearly all day writing to the Queen, home, and to friends. Towards evening I felt much better. My leg is very stiff, but I can just swing it backwards and forwards, and walk with a stick. I dined with the others in the dining-tent.

Feb. 28.—The camp moved to Moosapani, only three miles. The heat is rapidly increasing; the days are now getting very hot out in the howdah in the sun. I am very lame, but get about a little, and can sit in the howdah. I went out with a small party and shot a couple of hispid hares, the first I have yet seen. This is believed to be the extreme range west at which they are found. Their ears are very short, and their hair very stiff: they scuttle about in the grass, but do not take long runs like the ordinary hare. I also got a cheetul stag, with a good head, and two hog-deer. The Prince got a tigress and three well-grown cubs, and some other game.

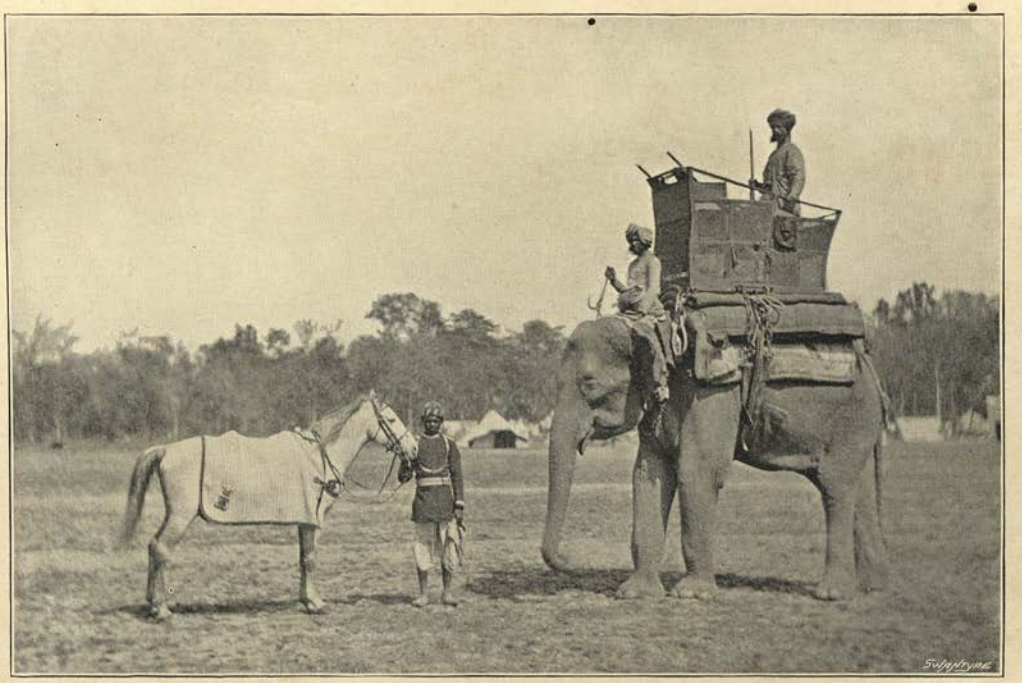
A telegram came from Lahore from General Maclagan that Duckworth is laid up there, and typhoid is suspected.

Feb. 29.—We moved camp from Moosapani to Do-Milla, our way lying over a beautiful country, through belts of forest here and there. We killed some deer and pig, a porcupine, and several hispid hares, which are now becoming quite common. The Prince got a large male tiger, 9 feet

6 inches, and some deer. This morning, before starting, the Prince spoke about my going to Lahore. I represented that I ought not to leave him in such a place and under such circumstances. The Prince thought otherwise. On arriving at our new camp in the evening, H.R.H. said he was very anxious about Duckworth, but expressed himself satisfied, and postponed the idea of my going, as the last telegram was more favourable.

March 1.—We moved camp to-day to Bomani Tal. There was no shooting on the way from one camp to the other, so I rode straight there on my elephant. The elephants and Sir Jung having arrived, preparations were made to beat for a tiger reported to be in the Bomani Nullah, within 500 yards of the camp. The ground was heavy, the nullah full of *phussun* (quagmire). We found the tiger in some thick jungle, where Lord Suffield and I came on him close to us, but just on the other side of the nullah, which we could not cross as the ground was so soft and treacherous. The Prince, on the opposite side, was approaching: we were making signals that the tiger was close at hand, and the elephants were all much excited. Something disturbed the tiger, and with a savage growl he charged. Lord Suffield shot him, and he fell into the water, whence he was dragged quite dead. He was a large, light-coloured, mangy tiger, very lean, and his teeth much worn. We went on with a long line of elephants to the celebrated swamp, the Bomani Tal. It was here we had such good sport when I was with Lord Mayo, at Mundiah Ghât, in 1871. The Prince killed some swamp deer and a tigress: she was a fine animal, and had she lived would have given birth to six cubs.

Telegrams report Duckworth not so well, and that he has confirmed typhoid. In the evening the Prince said he was very anxious I should go, and that he would telegraph to the Queen that he had sent me. However, I could not leave before next morning, as arrangements had to be made for a special train from Bareilly to Lahore, and there were sixty miles of country between our camp and Bareilly. Sowars



DR FAYRER'S ELEPHANT AND ARAB.

were sent off at once to Mundiah Ghât to make arrangements. I wrote to the Queen, General Ponsonby, home, and to others. My things were packed for a long journey to Lahore—light marching order—all I leave behind to be looked after by my companions. The bag up till to-day is: tigers, twenty-two and one cub alive; leopards, two; bears, three and two cubs alive. I have kept no record of deer or small game, but they were numerous.

March 2.—I left Dr Kellett in charge and started at 9 A.M. on a pad elephant, with Ibrahim and my baggage on another, for Mundiah Ghât, which is seven or eight miles from camp. Here I found a carriage and a dâk laid for Bareilly. With frequent changes of horses I got to Bareilly about 6.25 P.M., found a special train ready, and started for Lahore at once.

March. 3.—I arrived at Lahore at about 3.40 P.M., found Duckworth doing well, and telegraphed to the Queen, and to his brother, Dr Dyce Duckworth.

March 4.—I saw Duckworth at 7.30 A.M. with his medical advisers, and wrote a full account of his condition to the Prince. Sir Bartle Frere and I left at 6.40 P.M. by the ordinary mail train: it was raining heavily, and was quite cool. I saw Duckworth just before leaving, under excellent care, and doing well.

March 5.—It was a cool day, the dust laid by the rain, which did not continue after we passed Umballa, where we picked up Colonel Annesley, of the 11th Hussars, who goes to England with us in the Serapis. We travelled all day. Sir Bartle showed me some minutes he had written on the Peshawur frontier question.

March 6.—We arrived early this morning at Allahabad. An A.D.C. to the Lieutenant-Governor came to meet us, and we drove to Government House, near which our camp is pitched. I went to the cemetery with Sir Bartle, saw the grave of my little son, and gathered some roses near the tomb, and some seeds that had fallen from a cirrus-tree, growing just over it. The little stone and railing were in good repair. How it brought back that sad time!

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA—*concluded.*

Chapter of the Star of India at Allahabad—Investitute by Prince—Indore—Maharajah Holkar—Reception—Journey by rail to Bombay—Smallpox in Bombay—Embark on journey home—Call at Aden—Suez—Meet Lord Lytton, the outgoing Viceroy, there—Cairo—The Grand Duke Alexis and the Khedive—The Gezireh Palace—Russian frigate Svetlana—Visit interesting places in Cairo—Entertainment at Abdeen Palace—Visit Sakhara and the Pyramids of Gizeh—Opera at Cairo—Alexandria—Re-embark on Serapis—Malta—Auberges—Knights of St John—St Paul's Bay—Schools in Malta—Gibraltar—Meet Duke of Connaught—Review at Gibraltar—Visit cork-woods—Cadiz—Seville—No bull-fights—Cordova, its Cathedral—Madrid—The King—The palace—The galleries and armoury—Escurial—Royal stables—Lisbon—The Belem Palace—The King and his father—Cintra—Return to Portsmouth and thence to London—Drawing-room—Visit to Windsor—Various festivities in connection with the Prince's return.

March 7.—The Prince, who arrived this morning, seemed pleased at the result of my mission. I hear from my companions that they killed five tigers after I left them at Bomani Tal and Mundiah Ghât. The great room of Government House was arranged for the ceremony of a Chapter of the Star of India, and the principal residents were present. The Prince, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governor, and other high officials were on a raised dais. General Sam Browne, Probyn, and myself, in full uniform, were led up by Thornton, the secretary of the order, and received the accolade and the insignia from the

Prince. The new Companions then received their decorations, and the ceremony was over. Lord Napier was very kind, and said he would telegraph to my wife about it. We dined in full dress, with our new orders and stars, and then started for Indore.

March 8.—At Jubbulpore we went to see some of the old Thugs who are kept as approvers, but did not remain long, and set off again, arriving at Khandwa in time for dinner, which was prepared at the railway station. We started at 2.30 A.M. The night was cool, but we were tormented by mosquitoes. Having crossed the river, we arrived at Choral Chowkey terminus at about seven, and found tents pitched and breakfast ready: carriages were waiting to take us to Indore.

March 9.—The ascent of the Ghâts is very picturesque. After the ascent it is a dead level all the way. Five miles from Indore we were met by the Maharajah Holkar, and the Prince entered the city under the usual salutes. The decorations were few, but the crowd was great. We drove to the Residency, where a reception of Holkar and his chiefs was held, and then went to visit the chiefs of Dhar, Rutlam, Dhewar, Jowra, and Holkar in his palace at the Lal-bagh. The climate of Indore is something like that of Poona, the physical conditions of the country being somewhat similar. It is 2700 feet above the sea-level, and this, of course, implies a diminished temperature. There was a dinner-party at the Residency, and afterwards a ball. Sir Henry Durand was here at the time of the mutiny, and Sir John Kaye in his third volume has made remarks regarding his proceedings on that occasion that have excited some controversy and disapprobation. I know little of the merits of the case, but I knew Sir Henry: in wisdom and courage he was never surpassed, and I am sure whatever he did was for the best. Sir Henry Daly, one of my old Lucknow friends of former years, is now Resident.

March 10.—It was dark when we crossed the Nerbudda, and the effect was very picturesque. We travelled so rapidly

that the axles got hot, and our carriage was full of smoke on arriving at Khandwa. After dinner there were speeches in honour of the anniversary of the Prince's wedding-day. He said many kind things about the services of the suite, and it was a very festive party.

March 11.—We descended the Ghâts soon after daylight, and found it very warm at the lower level. The Prince was received at the terminus in Bombay by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and the civil and military authorities. It was decided, as smallpox was prevailing in Bombay, that the Prince should go on board the Serapis at once. She fortunately remains quite free, thanks to the precautions that have been observed; the Doris and other ships in the harbour have had some cases. We dined with the Governor at Malabar Point; there was a delightful sea-breeze, with the sea breaking on the rocks close at hand, and bright moonlight; the scene was lovely. The bay is certainly very beautiful, not even surpassed by that of Naples, I think.

The municipal farewell address is to be presented on board, instead of at the secretariat, as intended. The Prince is in excellent health, the suite and servants are well—better, I think, than when they landed here four months ago. The Serapis has lost one man from fever, one from cholera, and one drowned by falling into the Hooghley: these are the only casualties so far, and we have reason to be thankful that they have been so few.

March 12.—The Prince went to dine with Admiral Macdonald on board the flagship Undaunted. I went with Sir Bartle to dine with Sir Michael Westropp, the Chief-Justice, on Malabar Hill. There was a pleasant breeze, and it felt comparatively cool. Bombay is certainly cooler than it was in November.

March 13.—Sir Philip Wodehouse and the staff, and Sir Frank Souter, with many others, came to say farewell. The Prince presented Mr Hardinge with a beautiful gold watch, and the compounder with a ring. They had done their work admirably, and leave us with the good opinion of all. The

THE MAHARAJAH HOLKAR ON HIS STATE ELEPHANT.

Prince presented souvenirs to the Indian members of his suite.

In the afternoon we steamed out of harbour, escorted by the Osborne and Raleigh. General Hardinge, Colonel Annesley, and Captain Gough are with us, having been invited to go home in the Serapis. The usual salutes were fired, ships decorated, and yards manned. The ship is in beautiful order, and our cabins have all been repainted: we resumed our old places as on the voyage out. The Serapis feels like home, and we are always glad to come back to her. We left Bombay with fine weather, smooth water, and a fresh breeze from the north-west; thermometer 82°. I am glad we have got away: we are a little later than I recommended, and I shall be anxious for a few days about small-pox, but hope we have no contagion on board.

March 14.—Our occupations and mode of spending the day are much as when we were coming out: lawn-tennis on deck; daily inspection of the animals, &c. The little elephants are taken out for an airing every morning; they have many antics. The Raleigh and Osborne have each a number of animals on board; the latter has two baby elephants that came from Dacca.

We arrived at Aden in the evening of the 19th March. General Schneider and his staff came on board. Here we had the sad news that the Bishop of Calcutta had died at Rawul-Pindee since we left India. Duckworth is convalescent, and is coming home with Lord Northbrook next month. We took on board three full-grown ostriches and some Aden sheep. Mr Mudd is on board the Osborne with a large collection of plants; he reports that they are doing well.

March 20.—As we passed through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb the men came down to the point to salute, as before. We had a pleasant voyage, and nothing particular happened except to me: a sword fixed on the wall over my head fell and cut me on the forehead—a narrow escape for my eye!

March 24, *Red Sea*.—We had sent on the Osborne to Suez to tell Lord Lytton, the new Viceroy of India, who is to

meet us, that we shall be there to-morrow morning. The Prince gave me an Abyssinian cross—a masonic token that he has presented to all the masonic members of his suite—also a small silver medal, with plumes and cipher, as a souvenir of the expedition.

We arrived at Suez at about 9 A.M. Directly we anchored Lord and Lady Lytton, Colonel Owen Burne, private secretary, and other members of the suite, came on board. We started at once by train for Cairo, where the Prince was met by the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia and the Khedive and his sons. We drove off to our old quarters at Gezireh. The Grand Duke Alexis, who dined with us, seemed amused when the Prince described the cause of the wound on my forehead. My servant had taken the sword down to clean and put it back on the wall, simply resting on two nails: the motion of the ship during the night brought it down on my head. I awoke with a start, and found my forehead wet with blood, the metal handle having inflicted the wound. The Grand Duke commands the frigate Svetlana, which is at Alexandria. After dinner the Prince and some of the suite went with the Grand Duke to the opera. I remained at home to write, having received no less than three mails to-day. The weather is delightful, and to us it feels quite cool, though during the day it is hot in the sun.

March 28.—Probyn, Annesley, Fitz-George, Gough, and I set off early on an expedition to the Pyramids, and passed over the site of Memphis, a few fragments of which remain. A colossal granite statue of Sesostris lies prone in the mud, where it is covered every year by the rising Nile. It was presented to the English by Mahomet Ali, I am told, but has been left where it fell, with its grand imposing figure and placid stone face calmly resting on the slime. At Sakhara we visited the Serapeum, with its underground galleries and colossal sarcophagi, the tombs of the sacred bulls: how they got there is an unexplained marvel. The sarcophagi are empty, the lids having been pushed aside by

former explorers. We visited other tombs: that of Tih is curiously decorated with pictures and hieroglyphics, which can all now be read as easily as print, and are in a remarkable state of preservation and freshness of colour. It is wonderful how thoroughly the Egyptians, like other Orientals, caught the characteristic features of the animals they depict. We then went over mounds of broken earthenware, with bones scattered here and there—probably former burial-places—to a house on a rocky ridge in the desert, a place where Mariette Bey takes up his quarters when investigating the ruins. After a farther ride of eight or nine miles across the desert, the last part on the margin of the land watered by the Nile and green with verdure, where I gathered some wild-flowers, we came to the Pyramids: the first object we stopped to examine was the grand old Sphinx. We explored one of the excavations, and then passed on to the house at the foot of the Great Pyramid. Annesley and I remained below whilst the others ascended. The viceregal carriages had been sent to meet us by Mustapha Pacha, and we drove back to Gezireh, after a very pleasant though rather tiring day. It had been lovely, the air bright and cool, though the sun was trying as we rode over the desert. The khamseen was now blowing, but did not feel so very oppressive. After dinner we went to the opera.

March 29.—About noon we went with the Prince to see the museum at Boulac. Mariette Bey escorted the Prince over the museum, and explained the numerous antiquities, pointing out especially some of the recent discoveries at Sakhara. It is wonderful how easily the inscriptions and hieroglyphics are now interpreted, and many of the ancient statues identified. The Prince and suite went in state to the opera: it was "Aïda," Verdi's new opera, an Egyptian story. The scenery and stage arrangements were beautiful, they with the dresses and decorations having all received Mariette Bey's approval. The Pyramids and the island of Philæ were well represented. I went behind the scenes

with the Prince, and we inspected the machinery by which all this wonderful stage effect was produced. What a chaos it seems!

March 30.—I went to Cairo, and called on Dr Sonsino and Dr Sachs; they showed me the Bilharzia, and also a filaria discovered by Dr Sonsino, the same as that discovered by Lewis in Calcutta. Ellis and Lord de Grey went out quail-shooting, and shot thirty couple near the Pyramids.

March 31.—Annesley and I went to see the tombs of the khaliphs, and the dancing and howling dervishes; and a very ridiculous and degrading sight it is to see men so misconceiving and misapplying religious sentiment! However, it is something to have seen. One of the dervishes howled himself into a fit of convulsions, but the others took not the least notice, and left him to recover as he best might!

April 1.—The Viceroy came to Gezireh to take leave of the Prince, who left Cairo at about three o'clock. We had a special train conducted by Betts Bey, and our good friend Mustapha Pacha, with other dignitaries, in attendance. We reached Alexandria, where there was a great crowd, at about seven. The viceregal carriages took us through the city, but though it was almost dark the streets and balconies were filled with people. The viceregal barges were waiting at the pier to take us on board the Serapis.

April 2.—The Grand Duke, Baron Schilling his A.D.C., and Dr De Koudrine, his physician and medical officer of the Svetlana, came on board to lunch. I went on shore with Probyn in the afternoon, and drove to see Pompey's Pillar, Cleopatra's Needle, and the fallen Obelisk. The two latter were brought by Cleopatra, and stood at the entrance of a temple of the Sun. The hieroglyphics are partially worn away on the side facing the desert by the impact of the fine sand, which has been blown against it for two thousand years or more. We dined on board the Svetlana with the Grand Duke, who was most gracious:

he asked me about my sword-wound. The Svetlana has a splendid crew of men of the Naval Guard: they sang Russian songs and danced. I went over the frigate with one of the lieutenants and Dr De Koudrine. She is a fine ship, and heavily armed.

April 3.—The wind has gone down, and the sea is calm. We left Alexandria early in the morning, the Raleigh, Research, and Invincible in company. The air feels almost cold. The manis, the most interesting creature we have brought with us, died to-day.

On April 6th we arrived at Malta, landed in state, and drove up to the Governor's palace, the auberge of the Grand Master. All the pomp and ceremony of a royal reception were observed. There was lunch at the palace, and after it the Prince drove out with the Governor to see the Lunatic Asylum near Citta Vecchia. It is a well-built and admirably managed institution, containing about 300 patients; we went all over it. There was a dinner-party at the palace, a fine old building, full of pictures of former grand masters, old armour in the armoury, and many other interesting relics of the Knights of St John.

April 7.—The Prince presented colours to the 98th Regiment. After lunch, Captain Douglas, private secretary to the Governor, drove me to see the church at Murta. It has a dome nearly as large as that of St Paul's, and was built by voluntary labour. From the top we had a fine view of Citta Vecchia and St Paul's Bay. The island is well cultivated, though soil is scarce; it is divided into small fields and terraces by numerous walls. I went over the Auberge de Castile, one of the old knightly residences. A ball was given to the Prince at the Auberge de Provence, now a club. I met Hall, formerly of the 1st Fusiliers, who was with us in the defence of the Residency; he is now in the 101st stationed here. Also Delafosse of Cawnpore celebrity.

April 8.—I went over the library and the museum, part of the old grand masters' palace; then went with the Prince to see artillery practice from the forts. Yesterday, when in

the armoury, I tried on a knight's armour; it was so heavy that I could scarcely walk in it. After lunch we drove out to see the gardens of San Antonio, which were very pretty, and full of orange-trees, the perfume being delicious; the bauhinia-trees in blossom were very beautiful, as also a large white creeper like the datura. The admiral, Sir J. Drummond, is here with the flagship and a fleet. We went in state to the opera, where a Russian *prima donna* sang well.

April 9.—I went to St John's Church in the morning, and afterwards with the Prince to St Paul's, an English church, where the Bishop of Gibraltar preached. General and Lady Straubenzee took me to Vadalla, one of the old knights' palaces, near the shore, and Sir Adrian Dingli showed me the cathedral at Citta Vecchia and the churches of St Peter and St Paul, and gave me much information about the island and the people.

April 10.—I went with Sir Adrian Dingli to see St Paul's Bay. We saw the exact spot where the apostle is said to have been shipwrecked, the place where two seas met, round a small rocky island. Afterwards I went with the Prince and the Governor to visit the schools, and it was most interesting and amusing to watch the energy with which the little boys answered questions; each boy learns English, Italian, and Maltese. We then went to witness some torpedo experiments, the charges being exploded by the electric wire. The Prince touched the wire in some of the experiments; they were successful in several instances, but not in all. The explosions made the solid rock on which we stood shake, threw up columns of water, and tore the object to pieces under which they were discharged. We then went by boat to the Naval Hospital, and Dr Bernard went round with the Prince: it is beautifully situated, with pretty gardens, in one of the most picturesque parts of the island.

We lunched on board the flagship Hercules with the admiral, Sir J. Drummond. After attending a masonic

ceremony we returned to the Serapis, where the Prince gave a state dinner-party to the notabilities of Malta. The bright, full moon made the harbour look lovely. The thermometer to-day has not been above 64° in the shade; the tramontana blowing.

April 11.—We went out of harbour this morning, the ships and forts saluting, bands playing, and yards manned; it was a fine sight as we passed each ironclad. There was a beautiful distant view of Etna as we left in the early morning, but the haze soon obscured it.

April 12.—I am reading English with Sirdar Onoop Sing. I should have mentioned that the Prince has invited two native officers of Probyn's old regiment to accompany him to England—Sirdars Onoop Sing, a Sikh, and Afzool Khan, an Afghan—both remarkably fine specimens of native officers.

April 14.—It was a fine morning as we ran along the Spanish coast, ports all open.

April 15.—We arrived in the harbour of Gibraltar at about 8 A.M., the ships and forts saluting; the Devastation and several other men-of-war are here. The Duke of Connaught, the Governor and suite, with the military authorities, came on board. We landed in state at noon, and a procession was formed. General Somerset is commanding here; the Duke of Connaught is Assistant Adjutant-General. We passed through the town, which was gaily decorated, to the Convent (Government House), where there was a reception, and then went to the Duke of Connaught's house to lunch.

April 17.—The Prince reviewed the troops on the neutral ground. The foundation-stone of a new one-gun fort called Alexandra was laid; it seems hardly appropriate to call a thing so destructive after a lady so gentle! The Prince also laid the foundation-stone of a new market with masonic honours. In the evening we walked in the Almeida Gardens and saw the illumination of the Rock. The ships in harbour were illuminated, and threw up countless rockets and bouquets of fireworks. It was a beautiful sight!

April 18.—It was a showery, windy day. We had a long ride to the cork-woods, which were very green and picturesque: here lunch was prepared, and we picketed our horses. We returned by a different and longer route in the forest, and passed through the picturesque town of San Roque, having ridden nearly thirty miles.

April 19.—We went to see the races and athletic sports on the neutral ground. After a ball at the Governor's some returned to the Serapis, the others went direct on board the Osborne, in which we are to sail for Cadiz early to-morrow morning. The Duke of Connaught, attended by Captain Fitzgerald and Lord F. Lennox, accompanies the Prince to Cadiz.

April 20.—In the early morning the Osborne dashed out into the Straits at the rate of 15 knots an hour. After passing the Straits the sea was very disagreeable, but we were off Cadiz before 1 P.M., where we landed quietly. The Prince is travelling here *incog*. Two Spanish noblemen sent by the King, and the civil authorities, met the Prince on the pier, and we went straight to the railway station, where a special train was prepared to take us to Seville. The line passed through flat, marshy country covered with salt pyramids: this is a great country for salt manufacture. We soon came to Xeres, and saw the vineyards. At Seville we found quarters prepared for the Prince at the Fonda (Hotel) de Quatre Nations, and at the Fonda Americana. After dinner some of us went out and walked about the town: in one of the principal streets, or rather boulevards, we saw the people of all classes enjoying themselves, dancing boleros in the booths, which are erected along the street. We went into several, and watched the dancing: the women were very prettily dressed, and looked and danced well. There were booths for the artillery, the line, and the staff; one, we were told, belonged to the *toreros* (bull-fighters), a very important class here. It was the last day of the great fair.

April 21.—We went with the Prince to the cathedral and

saw the beautiful Murillos, and especially noticed the San Antonio from which the head of the saint was cut out and stolen some time ago, but recovered. It has been so well repaired that it is almost impossible to see where it was cut. There was also a lovely Madonna, by Alonzo Cano. At the library of Columbus we saw some very interesting books and MSS., and went thence to the races, which were tolerably good, and most interesting from the costumes of the spectators. After dinner we went to a hall, where we saw Spanish dances in costume: the gipsies danced very like the Indian nautch-girls.

April 22.—I went with the Duke of Connaught to see the Alcazar, a royal palace of Moorish architecture. The gardens, fountains, and flower-beds, the carvings and decorations of the palace, are very beautiful. We also visited the Museo, and saw the marvellous Velasquez pictures. We afterwards went over the great factory, where 6500 women and girls are employed in making cigars and cigarettes; it is a most wonderful place. At the bull-ring we saw the implements for bull-fighting, the bandilleros, &c., the places where the bulls are confined, and whence they are let out into the arena. The Prince declined to witness any bull-fights. There had been several the week before we arrived, and numbers of horses and bulls had been killed.

April 23.—We went to see the Duke of Montpensier's palace, and lunched in the gardens; then drove into the country and saw the Spanish gentlemen ride with blunt spears after some bulls, which were kept there for the arena, and very dexterously turn them over. It looked easy enough, but I was told it was not so easy as it seemed.

April 24.—In the afternoon we took the train to Cordova. The country is uninteresting until near the city. There is a certain amount of beauty in the hills, clothed with olives, but no great variety, though the Sierra Moreno is very imposing. There was a great crowd at the railway station,

and we drove at once through the narrow, but clean and picturesque, streets to the cathedral, which is most interesting. It is an old Moorish mosque converted into a Roman Catholic cathedral, retaining all its Moorish pillars and colonnades, with rich modern additions; the carved work of the chancel is splendid; the organ is one of the finest in the world. We ascended a square tower and had a magnificent view of the hills and surrounding country, dotted with white houses.

April 25.—We arrived at Madrid early. King Alfonso, with many grandees, was at the station to receive the Prince, and welcomed him very cordially. On arriving at the palace the Prince presented us all to the King, and to his sister, the Princess of Asturias, who received us very graciously. The King is a slight, active-looking young man of nineteen, his sister being a few years older. His Majesty speaks English, and was a student at Sandhurst when summoned to the throne. We are all accommodated in the palace, and have magnificent rooms, decorated with pictures and tapestry. My windows look over the city and on to the Sierra Guadarama.

April 26.—We went to see a review, or rather march past, of the Spanish army from the Duke of Sestos' house: 25,000 men were paraded. They were fine-looking soldiers, very well dressed and set up. There was a state banquet at the palace and a reception after it, all the *élite* of Madrid present. The reception-rooms are very beautiful.

April 27.—We went this morning, his Majesty and several dignitaries accompanying the Princes, to Toledo. We visited several churches, went to the manufactory of arms, and saw the whole process of sword-making, which is most interesting.

April 28.—To-day his Majesty accompanied the Princes to visit the Escurial, built on the slopes of the Sierra Guadarama. We went over it, and saw the pictures, much very beautiful tapestry, the church, which is built of grey granite, and the room in which King Phillip died—in sight

of the grand altar—the chair in which he sat, the table at which he wrote, and the rest on which he supported his gouty foot. In the gardens we saw a curiously painted and decorated summer-house, and inspected a school, which is especially patronised by the young king. When in the Escurial we saw the burial-place of the kings and queens of Spain, and the sarcophagi in which they rest. King Alfonso pointed out one which he said was for him some day! On our return to Madrid the Duke of Connaught and his suite took leave of the Prince of Wales; they were going to Paris. We dined at the palace. There was a dinner-party at Mr Layard's, the British minister, for the King and the Prince. This is the first time, I believe, that a King of Spain has dined out. Later there was a reception, to which we went.

April 29.—It is so cold here in the winter that if the sentries about the palace are not relieved at short intervals they are liable to be frozen at their posts. I went to the armoury, near the palace, where there is a quantity of very interesting old armour, some of the suits bearing strange devices. We dined at the palace, then went to the theatre and saw a burlesque on the bull-fights, and afterwards to a ball at the Duke of Baillen's.

April 30.—Annesley and I visited the royal stables with Count Mirasol, Master of the Horse: there is a wonderful collection of Spanish and English horses and mules. After lunch we started for Lisbon, and on May 1 were met at the frontier by Portuguese authorities and Mr Morier, C.B., the new Minister, who succeeded Lord Lytton, and reached Lisbon in the afternoon. The King, Dom Luiz, his father, Dom Fernando, and the Duke of Coimbra were at the station. At the Palace of Adjuda we were presented to the King, and to Queen Maria Pia, and then adjourned to the Palace of Belem, which his Majesty has placed at the Prince's disposal. Two officers, General Mascarenhas and Captain De Mello, are in attendance on the Prince. The Prince, Lord Suffield, and Ellis dined at Adjuda with the

King and Queen. The view of the harbour and the Tagus, as we drove to Belem, was very fine.

May 2.—I had a long talk with the King about many things, especially hospitals, in which he seemed to take much interest. He asked me to go and visit them, and deputed his secretary, who is also his physician, to accompany me. I was presented to Dom Fernando, the King's father, and had a long talk with him, and with Dom Augusto, the Duke of Coimbra, the King's brother, who commands the cavalry. The Prince dined at Belem, and after dinner we went to a state concert at the opera. All the royal family, the ministers and great officers of state, and the generals were there. I never saw such a galaxy of stars and cordons anywhere! I noticed one old gentleman who had eight stars, besides other decorations, on his breast. Some of the ladies are very pretty, with black hair and eyes, and a few have a well-developed moustache.

May 3.—I went with the Prince to the Irish Convent of Buen Successo, where the nuns have a capital school. We heard the girls play and sing "God Bless the Prince of Wales," went over the convent and saw the dormitories and other arrangements. The nuns were delighted with the Prince's kind and gracious manner. In the afternoon I went with the King's physician to see the great hospital of San Joseph and the medical school attached to it, then to the naval hospital, being shown over it by a Portuguese naval medical officer. The hospitals were well arranged and good in every way.

May 4.—This morning we drove to Cintra, crossing the heights of Torres Vedras. Mr Cooke (Viscount of Montserrat) has lovely grounds and a magnificent house, gorgeously decorated and sumptuously furnished. There is a splendid view from the garden, full of rare trees, plants, and flowers. We had lunch and walked about with Mr and Mrs Cooke, who were most kind and hospitable. After dinner the Prince went to see the illumination of the city and the ships in the harbour. The King, Queen, all the

royal family and suite were there. I gave a copy of the 'Thanatophidia' to the King, who seems to be much interested in scientific matters.

May 5.—Probyn, Macdonald, De Mello, and I went to see the Church of Santa Maria di Belem, a very interesting old church built in commemoration of the discoveries of Vasco da Gama. It is a mixture of Gothic and Byzantine. The choir, which is up in the gallery, is raised on arches, and the cloisters of the old convent attached to it are very beautiful. The Real Casa Pia is here, in which four hundred boys are educated, clothed, and fed, free of cost. It was from a pier not far from this church that Vasco da Gama set out on his voyage of discovery. After lunch we attended the Prince to a review of the Portuguese troops: the artillery (Krupp guns) were drawn by mules. The Prince and some of the suite dined on board the flagship Minotaur.

May 6.—We all accompanied the Prince to the races: the course is near Belem, whence there is a lovely view of the harbour and the surrounding country. After returning, the Prince summoned all the suite, and on behalf of the King presented us with decorations. Lord Suffield got the Grand Cordon, and I the Star of the Conception, Probyn the Tower and Sword, others the third or fourth class of the Conception, Tower and Sword, the Christ, or Avis. There was a State dinner at the Adjuda Palace, to which we all went, wearing Portuguese orders, of course. There were about a hundred present, and it was a most stately affair, a blaze of decorations and Grand Cordons. As I was sitting only six or eight from the King I heard the speaking very well. There were the usual toasts, and the Prince spoke, as he always does, with much grace and facility.

May 7.—I accompanied the Prince to the English Church, which is well situated, and the grounds around it very pretty. Thence we drove to the pier, and embarked for the Serapis, the last return to the old ship, which has been our home so long! The Prince embarked with all the customary honours. King Luiz and Dom Fernando, the Queen, the

two young Princes, and the Duke of Coimbra came on board to say good-bye. At 4 P.M. we weighed anchor and steamed down the Tagus, past Belem and other forts, through crowds of shipping—mercantile and naval—under salutes, cheers, music, ships decorated and yards manned, out to sea, on our last stage on the homeward voyage. There was a fresh breeze and a good deal of swell when we got to sea; the King's yacht kept near us for some time. We felt quite sorry to say good-bye, for here, as everywhere else, we have received the greatest kindness: each place we have visited seemed more anxious than the last, if possible, to do honour to the Prince, and to be hospitable and kind to us.

May 8.—At noon we were only 680 miles from the Isle of Wight. Captain Glyn and the officers gave the Prince and suite an entertainment; the tables were beautifully decorated with flowers, flags, and pictures. All the officers were present. There were some very good speeches made, and the Prince said many kind and gracious things of his companions. I spoke to the Prince to-day about a slight offered to the naval medical officers at Lisbon. When H.R.H. went on board the flagship other officers were presented, but not one medical officer. The Prince said he had noticed it, and gave me permission to write to the medical officers and tell them it did not meet with his approval: I did so through Dr Lilburne, R.N.

May 10.—This morning, after breakfast, the Prince summoned each of the suite into his cabin, saying many kind and gracious things, and presented him with some valuable souvenir of the expedition. To me he gave a beautiful gold bracelet set in diamonds, with his portrait, for my wife; a book (Rousselet's 'Rajahs of India'), a large silver medal, a set of silver things for picnics, tumblers, spoons, forks, &c. He was most kind in the way in which he referred to such services as I had been able to render during the trip. I spoke about the medical officers of the Serapis, and the Prince replied most kindly, saying he would not forget their claims.

May 11.—We arrived off Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, before noon. The Princess and the royal children came off in the Enchantress to meet us; the Prince went to her and soon returned, bringing them all on board the Serapis. They were much interested in the elephants, tigers, &c. I took the young Princes about, and showed them the different animals. The Princess was most kind: I gave her the spotted doe which I brought from Ceylon. We entered Portsmouth Harbour, the ships and forts saluting, yards manned and flags flying, and had lunch on board for the last time: the Duke of Edinburgh, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Leiningen, and many of the Prince's friends were there. At 4.30 we landed at the Dockyard, where a crowd had assembled. An address from the Mayor was read, and we then left by train. Every station was decorated, and there was great rejoicing as the Prince passed. At Victoria we separated: I drove home with my boys, who came to meet me, and found my wife and children well. So ended the Indian Expedition. I at once despatched an official letter to Sir A. Armstrong, Medical Director-General of the navy, thanking him and the medical officers for their share in the work of the expedition.

May 12.—I attended the drawing-room with my wife. There was a great crowd, and all the suite were presented to her Majesty on their return, by the Prince. The Queen was very gracious, and said she was glad to see me again. I had congratulations from many old friends on having returned, and appear in the 'Gazette' to-day as Hon. Physician to the Prince of Wales. It was very thoughtful of the Prince to do this so soon.

On Sunday, after dining with Lady Mayo, I went, at Mr Morier's invitation, to meet the Prince at the Cosmopolitan Club. Mr Morier came home with us from Lisbon. Several of our Serapis shipmates were at the club, which meets after midnight.

On the 17th I went down to Windsor by the Queen's command to dine and stay till the next day. Her Majesty

was very gracious and kind, spoke about the expedition, and expressed herself pleased with the result. During the day I walked in the grounds of Frogmore, and wrote letters. On returning to town the next day I was glad to see several promotions of officers of the Serapis and Osborne in the 'Gazette.' I resumed my old work and usual routine of daily life.

On the 19th my wife and I went to the banquet and ball given by the Lord Mayor to the Prince on his return from India; and on the 22nd I attended the Prince of Wales's levée, and was received very kindly by the Prince, the Dukes of Edinburgh, Connaught, and Cambridge.

On the 24th May I went to a dinner given to me by my brother Indian medical officers at St James's Hall, about eighty being present; Dr Forsyth, C.B., presiding. They were very kind, and made several speeches. Before separating they presented me with a parchment on which all their names were inscribed. They were good enough to say that they thought I had conducted my part of the expedition satisfactorily.

On Monday, 29th, I went to meet the Prince and the Princess to see the Indian presents at Kensington, when my wife was presented to the Princess.

During June and July there were many dinner-parties and garden-parties in connection with the Indian visit, and I met the Queen, the Princess Beatrice, the Empress Eugenie, and the Prince Imperial at the Kensington Museum, and Mr John Bright, with whom I had long conversations, while on a visit to the Duke of Sutherland at Trentham. The last of these festivities was a dinner-party given by Sir Salar Jung at the Star and Garter, where I met many old friends.

With this my diary, as regards the Indian expedition, closes.

CHAPTER XXI.

LIFE IN LONDON—*continued*

(1876–1879).

Edinburgh—Shooting in Scotland—Registration of Calcutta medical graduates—Dr Rae, the Arctic explorer—Sir J. Paget's Hunterian Oration—Cleopatra's Needle brought to London—Scurvy in the Arctic expedition—Prince and Princess of Wales open new wards in Charing Cross Hospital—Gladstone—Tennyson—Famine in India—Elected Fellow of the Royal Society—Stafford House Committee for Turco-Russian War—Victoria Institute—Kashgar Envoy—General Grant—Great sea-serpent—Scotland, shooting—My eldest son sails for India—Lecture on destruction of life in India by wild beasts—Death of Pio Nono—Death of my sister—Researches into snake poison with Lauder Brunton—Collect information on subjects of natural history from India—Elected Fellow of College of Surgeons—LL.D. conferred in Edinburgh—Netley—Visit to France—Scotland, shooting—Afghan war—Distribute prizes at Netley—Invited to stand for University of Edinburgh—Lucknow dinner established—Lord Lawrence's funeral—Westmorland and Scotland, shooting—New warrant for Medical Department.

EARLY in September 1876 my wife and I started for our usual autumnal visit to Scotland, beginning with Edinburgh. At St Mary's Isle I met General Fordyce, Colonel Gairdner, Sir Graham Montgomery, and others. We got good bags, including many hares, which were very numerous there in those days: one day three guns got over forty. Sir G. Montgomery, who is the owner of Lochleven, told me the story of the keys of the castle, which Sir Walter Scott in the novel makes Roland Græme throw into the lake

when escaping with the queen. They were really thrown into the lake by some one, and were found some years ago when it was drained.

In November my old friend Partridge was appointed to succeed Dr Paul as member of the Medical Board at the India Office. I tried to obtain some honour for Paul in recognition of his services, but, to my regret, was unsuccessful.

My old friend Sir Bartle Frere was appointed Governor of Cape Colony, and early in March 1877 I went to a farewell dinner given to him before leaving for Africa. His services there are a matter of history.

Having been appealed to from India by some of the medical graduates of the Calcutta University, I wrote to the General Medical Council in January 1877 recommending their claim for registration, to which, it seemed to me, they were entitled, as they were highly qualified medical men.

The medical profession had a great loss in the death on February the 11th, at the age of sixty-nine, of Sir William Fergusson, one of the foremost of British surgeons. I knew him well, and used to attend his lectures and witness his operations.

I made the acquaintance of Dr Rae, the great Arctic traveller, and was much interested in his descriptions of his travels in search of Sir John Franklin, whose widow I had met in India.

This year Sir James Paget gave the Hunterian Oration—a most eloquent and excellent address. There were some good speeches at the college dinner that night by the Prince of Wales, Mr Gladstone, and others, who had all been present at the lecture and expressed their admiration of it.

I was much interested at this time in the bringing away from Alexandria of Cleopatra's Needle to erect it in London, and wrote and spoke very strongly about it. The story of its adventurous voyage, becoming a derelict, its salvage, and its arrival in London, are well known.

There was an inquiry in which I was much interested

about the great mortality from scurvy during the recent Arctic expedition. This was the result of ignoring medical advice upon diet and the use of lime-juice. I had recently spoken at the Medical Society upon the subject of scurvy, and upon the vegetable diet of the Hindus and its results.

On the 25th of March the Prince and Princess of Wales at my request opened the new wards at Charing Cross Hospital. The Bishop of London read the prayers, and the Prince made a good speech.

At an afternoon party at General Malcolm's I made the acquaintance of Madame Goldsmidt (Jenny Lind), Mr and Mrs Gladstone, who talked to me about their son in India, whom I had recently seen, Sir Samuel and Lady Baker, and the Chinese Minister, and had some conversation with Sir Samuel on big-game shooting, on which he was a great authority. A little later I met Mr Tennyson, and had a long conversation with him upon India and other matters; subsequently he read me his poem on the siege of Lucknow, about which we had been in correspondence.

On the 19th of April I heard of my selection as one of the fifteen new Fellows of the Royal Society. I had been proposed by Professor Flower and supported by several other Fellows, and had a kind note from my old friend Huxley upon the subject. This was a source of gratification to me. At my formal election in June I signed my name immediately after that of the Emperor of Brazil. I may here anticipate so far as to say that I became a member of the Council in 1895.

Early in May I was present at the Famine Committee of the Indian Council, where I strongly supported the recommendations of Dr Cornish of Madras with reference to the supply of food to the starving, which were to give them a higher scale of diet than the Indian authorities had contemplated. The same day I presided at a meeting of the Society of Arts, when Mr Taylor of Patna fame read an interesting paper upon trees in India, a subject to which I had given considerable attention.

I joined a committee at Stafford House for affording relief to wounded Turks in the war then going on with Russia, but had no other interest in the matter, and could deal only with its medical aspects. Later I joined another Stafford House committee for the African war: the first meeting was held at Lady Burdett Coutts's, when I recommended my old friend Surgeon-General J. T. C. Ross to be sent out there as Commissioner, which was done with good results.

I had now joined the Victoria Institute, one of the objects of which was to deal with apparent oppositions between religion and science. I had not unfrequently to object to their methods of treating some of the subjects dealt with, but found that their views gradually became more liberal, while the general tendency of the institution was very good; I ultimately became a vice-president.

I mentioned before that all my prize-money had been presented to the College at Epsom, and I was now appointed a member of the Council of that school. Subsequently, on becoming chairman of the Council, I was much associated with Dr C. Holman, the treasurer, of whose devoted services to the interests of this public school it is impossible to speak too highly.

The Envoy from Kashgar, Sayed Yakub Khan, came under my care professionally; but he soon recovered, and a few days later I went with him and Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, Political Aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India, to the races at Ascot, where in the enclosure I met many old friends and saw the royal procession.

On the 29th of June I attended a very large dinner-party at the Grosvenor Hotel as the guest of Mr Russell Young, to meet General Grant, late President of the United States. I was much interested in the General, and, sitting by his side, had a good deal of conversation with him and with Mr Chauncey Depew, another guest.

Lieutenant Forsyth, R.N., of H.M.S. Osborne, was corresponding with me at this time on the subject of a marine

creature seen by the officers of that ship not far from Sicily. I have no idea what it was, but it is quite certain that they saw a large marine animal near the surface of the water, which, from their description and the drawings that were made, did not seem to correspond with any known species. It can hardly be doubted that the numerous reports that we have had from time to time, though many of them, perhaps, are not very well authenticated, are sufficient to show that some undescribed gigantic ophidian or sea creature still remains to be identified.

On the 28th of August I left St Pancras for Hunthill in Forfarshire, to stay with Lord Selkirk for grouse-shooting. We went out daily over very steep ground, sometimes 1000 feet above the house, and found the grouse wild and unsettled, but we got on an average fifteen to twenty brace a-day. I left early in September for Dunrobin, where I found W. H. Russell, Frank Buckland, and other friends. We inspected the salmon-breeding establishment on the Brora, and had a deer-drive near the Carol rock, when I got one good stag, with ten points. From Dunrobin I went to Cupar in Fife. My cousin, Nat Spens, was living near there: he was killed afterwards in Afghanistan when with the 72nd Highlanders, of which he was a captain. My last visits before returning to London were to Lady Hopetoun, and to Lord Selkirk at St Mary's Isle. While there I wrote a paper for 'Nature' upon the subject of the towering of birds, in which I ascribed it to asphyxia from bleeding of the lungs, not necessarily from injury to the head, as commonly supposed. I here shot with my old Joe Manton, with which my father had shot more than sixty years before: I had not used it since the siege of Lucknow. It had been converted into a breechloader.

On the 25th of October my wife and I accompanied our eldest son to Southampton to see him off to India, where he was going to join the house of Gladstone & Wylie at Bombay.

On the 1st of February 1878 I gave a lecture on destruc-

tion of life in India by snakes and wild animals, at the Society of Arts, to a very crowded audience, Sir George Campbell in the chair. The paper was not only on the mortality, but the animals that caused it. Lady Mayo and many of my old friends were there. For this lecture the Society afterwards presented me with a silver medal.

On the 7th of February Pio Nono died, aged eighty-five, after a pontificate of thirty-two years, the longest ever attained. How many associations are connected in my mind with him in former days, in Palermo and Rome! How many old friends his name recalls, how many happy but restless days!

The sad news came from Australia of the death of my sister. She was much loved and respected, and her character was a most amiable one. I last saw her just before starting for the Continent with Lord Mount-Edgcumbe. She had married and gone to Australia before my return.

Mr Hird, my old friend and teacher, wrote at this time and offered me, on the part of the council, the office of consulting physician to the Charing Cross Hospital, and shortly afterwards I was appointed and also made a life governor.

Brunton and I were still continuing our experiments on snake-poisoning, and had been making careful examination of the blood of the poisoned creatures, and in June we read a paper upon this subject at the Royal Society. I had been much interested in some lectures which Professor Flower had given at the College of Surgeons on races of men, and was continuing popular lectures and microscopical demonstrations to my children.

Mr Gathorne Hardy was at this time appointed Secretary of State for India *vice* Lord Salisbury, who took Lord Derby's post at the Foreign Office. I had a long conversation with him about the medical services, and explained my views upon the subject very plainly and fully.

I now despatched a printed form to my friends in India for the purpose of collecting information about the Indian ele-

phant, a subject which had been occupying my attention; the answers were many of them subsequently published in 'Land and Water.' Afterwards, by the same means, I collected human crania as contributions to Professor Flower's anthropological collection, and also obtained a series of crania of canidæ for Huxley, who was working at that family of the carnivora.

In April an official letter from the College of Surgeons informed me they had elected me a Fellow under a special by-law. Had this come earlier I might have taken up surgery again, but having long since become a Fellow of the College of Physicians, I resolved to restrict my gradually increasing practice to that of a consulting physician.

On the 31st of July we went to Edinburgh that I might receive the honorary degree of LL.D. at the University. The Principal, Sir A. Grant, conferred the degrees: for each graduate a special speech was made as he was presented, the cap was laid on his head, and a blue hood put round his neck. The promoter who presented us and made the speech was Professor Mackay. The other LL.D.'s were Sir Risdon Bennett, Professor Lister, Green the historian, and one other whose name I forget.

On the 5th of August Sir Henry Norman presented the prizes at the Medical School at Netley: he gave the young officers a good address, which was supplemented by a short speech from me. I had recently written for the Army Sanitary Committee a minute recommending that all Indian medical officers on leave should be encouraged to go through a course at Netley and refresh their knowledge, bringing it up to date.

In August my wife and I left Southampton for Versailles on a visit to our friends the Robert Stewarts, stopping a few days at Dinan on the way. In the great exhibition then going on at Paris the Indian section was remarkably fine, in fact the English and Indian sections were much the best; the Prince of Wales's Indian presents were there, We went to Sèvres to see the porcelain works and the Musée

Céramique. The following day Stewart went with me to the Jardin des Plantes; we called on Mr Milne Edwards, and went to Notre Dame. I always enjoy seeing this beautiful Gothic building: the perfect quiet and feeling of rest in the aisles is refreshing, and the stained-glass windows are beautiful. On this occasion it was draped in black for M. Thiers, and a funeral service was going on.

On the 5th of September I went to Scotland, and when grouse-shooting at Dunrobin killed a white grouse in the Dunrobin Glen, which excited much interest, for no one had seen so purely white a grouse before. It was exhibited at the Zoological Society and then went back to Dunrobin Museum. When out with a stalker, gillie, and two stag-hounds, I got two stags after a long stalk. On another day I was out with the Duke of Marino (Colonna) roedeer-shooting in the Dunrobin woods, and got three bucks and a doe. On my way south I visited Stirling Castle and the Greyfriars' Church; this interesting old historic place has always had a great fascination for me. I went on to Mr Carnegie's, at Stronvar, which is beautifully situated on Loch Voil, among the braes of Balquhidder, in the church-yard of which is the tomb of Rob Roy, a rough granite slab, inscribed with rude characters. By the side of it is another slab, which covers the remains of his son Robin Oig, who was hanged in Edinburgh for murder: he seemed to have been hardly treated for killing a man in a blood-feud. I went to Hopetoun to pay Lady Hopetoun a visit, and wrote to Frank Buckland to ask him if he could get some pike and trout for the ponds there. Thence I went on to St Mary's Isle, and found Lord and Lady Selkirk alone: this was my first visit since his marriage to Miss Egerton.

About this time my third son passed his preliminary examination for Sandhurst: in passing out he received an Indian cadetship. The Afghan war had begun, and Ali Masjid was taken by my old friend General Sam Browne —two officers killed, thirty or forty men wounded.

On the 2nd of January 1879, with other Fellows of the

Zoological Society, I attended the funeral of the Marquess of Tweeddale, President of the Society, at Chiselhurst. A few days later Professor Flower was elected in his stead, and continued, deservedly, to hold this office until his death in 1899.

On the 3rd of February I went to Netley, distributed the prizes, and gave the students an address. I made a point of attending these prize distributions, taking much interest in the school.

On the 18th I read a paper at the Pathological Society upon elephantiasis, which was followed by a good discussion, and later on spoke upon wounds of the heart, and described the case already alluded to that occurred during the Burmese war, where the bullet was found in the left ventricle. I was also appointed a member of the Plague Committee at the College of Physicians: it was composed of Sir W. Gull, Sir W. Jenner, Professor Acland, Dr Paget, and others. I had previously served upon a committee on leprosy, a subject on which the Academy of Medicine of Paris had recently corresponded with me. A few days later the Plague Committee invited me to go to Russia to investigate the plague then existing upon the Volga, and I would willingly have done so had not my public duties as well as my private work stood in the way.

Dr Risdon Bennett, Dr Acland, Dr Paget, and I went to see the Duke of Richmond, Lord President of the Council, at the House of Lords, upon subjects connected with medical education. At this time I was in correspondence with Dr Christison and Dr Winchester upon the subject of representing the Universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews in the House of Commons. They invited me to contest the seat against Sir Lyon Playfair, in the Conservative interest, but I could not do so, as it would have involved my retirement from the India Office.

General Wilson, General Lowe, and Colonel Fletcher met at my house to arrange about the Lucknow dinner which had recently been inaugurated, at which the survivors were

to meet to commemorate the siege and the defence. This became an annual dinner at which I was a regular attendant: on one occasion it was held at my house, and several of the ladies of the garrison were present.

We were now attending St Peter's, Vere Street, Mr Page Roberts, a typical member of the Broad Church party: his views coincide with mine, and I listened with pleasure to his sermons, which were remarkable for the evidence they showed of wide reading, deep thought, and broad sympathies. I occasionally went to Mr Haweis's church, who is also a man of liberal and broad views, and much originality.

I asked the Prince of Wales to become President of the Charing Cross Hospital: H.R.H. was very kind, but was unable to undertake the office, and advised me to ask the Duke of Edinburgh, who was good enough to accept it.

On the 4th of June I was elected President of the Epidemiological Society, and continued to hold the office for two years. During my incumbency some very interesting subjects connected with tropical disease were discussed.

At the end of the month Lord Lawrence died, and I thus lost a very old and kind friend. We went to his funeral at Westminster Abbey, and I was one of those invited to assemble in the Jerusalem Chamber, with many other Indian friends, who walked in procession to the grave through the Abbey. It was very crowded and presented a very imposing sight. He lies close to Outram.

On my way to Scotland I visited my old home at Haverbrack in Westmorland, thence went to Menzies Castle, which my friend Dr Simpson of the Bengal Medical Service had taken, and made the acquaintance there of Professor de Vry of The Hague,—a very amusing and clever man, famous for his investigations into the cinchona alkaloids. Later on I wrote a minute for the India Office on them. The scenery about this old castle is very fine, Ben Lawers, Schiehallion, and other high peaks being visible. Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote acknowledging the receipt by the Queen

and Princess Beatrice of my Journal with the Princes, which had just been printed for private circulation, and the Prince of Wales also wrote, asking for a second copy. Bad news came from Cabul, that Cavagnari and all his suite had been murdered.

I went with some of the people in the house to the Pass of Killiecrankie, a delightful walk through the glen, and then back to Pitlochrie. Our guide showed us all the interesting places, where the battle took place and where Claverhouse was killed. We went out shooting every day, generally getting good bags of grouse and blue hares, and occasionally catching a few trout in the Tay. One day at a drive we got 285 blue hares. After a few days at Stronvar I went on to Dunrobin, where my fourth son wrote to me that he had been appointed second lieutenant in the Sussex Artillery. On the 25th the Duke of Marino and Prince Odescalchi were shooting: we talked Italian, and they invited me to go and see them at Rome. In the evening there was a gillies' ball, at which we all danced, and enjoyed ourselves very much. I went out stalking and killed a good stag, and a little later another stag after firing three shots at him, to the two first of which he never moved; the third shot dropped him dead. He was standing facing me in the wood about 80 yards off, and only his head was visible. At St Mary's Isle I made the acquaintance of Mr Herries of Spottes, whose son subsequently married my second daughter. My visits ended with one to my friend Colonel Nowell, who lived at a pretty place called Netherside, on the Wharfe, near Skipton.

On the 2nd of December a new warrant for the Medical Department of the army came out: it was better than the old one, but still defective in many points.

CHAPTER XXII.

LIFE IN LONDON—*continued*

(1880–1883).

Appointed examiner for Medical services—Fighting in Afghanistan—Lord Ripon Viceroy of India—Cooper's Hill College—Lord Hartington and the Medical services—Honours for Indian medical officers—Visit Sandhurst—Scotland, shooting—Visit Sandringham—Meeting at Lambeth Palace—Move to Wimpole Street—Medical Congress—Scotland, shooting—Death of Darwin—Visit to Paris—Experiments on the Heloderma suspectum*—Scotland, shooting—Death of Sir Thomas Watson—Prince of Wales lays foundation-stone of Indian Institute at Oxford—Prince of Wales at Medical Society—Committees on cholera—British Medical Association at Liverpool—Scotland, shooting—Intercolonial Congress at Amsterdam—Norfolk, shooting.*

In January 1880 I was elected member of the Council of the Pathological Society, and heard also from the Director-General that the Secretary of State for War had appointed me to succeed Mr Busk as examiner in Anatomy and Physiology for the Medical services: the examinations were held twice a-year, in February and August.

On the 18th of February I wrote a long letter to General Goldsmith about Sir James Outram, which he inserted in the Life he was then writing of him. A letter I had previously written describing the death of Sir Henry Lawrence appeared in his life by Merivale and Edwardes.

About this time Ruskin gave a lecture on serpents at the London Institute: it was hardly a subject on which he

might have been expected to lecture, but it was interesting to me, who had been occupied in researches on that subject, though from a different point of view.

On the 22nd of April fighting was reported from Afghanistan, and soon after Ghuznee was taken by General Sir Donald Stewart with a loss of 17 on our side and 1000 on the enemy's. Next month I wrote to my old and valued friend Sir Owen Burne, Political Secretary, advising the Government not to withdraw troops into the plains from Afghanistan at this hot season, but to wait until November.

Lord Ripon, having been nominated Viceroy of India, consulted me with reference to his fitness to undertake that office. It was an unfavourable season of the year, but as he was very well I told him he might go if he went direct to Simla, and advised him to take a medical officer with him, suggesting Dr J. Anderson of Sandhurst, who accordingly was appointed and remained with him throughout his viceroyalty.

In May I went to Cooper's Hill College and gave the students a lecture on preservation of health in India, General Chesney having told me that such information was much needed. This lecture was subsequently published by Macmillan & Co., and has often been spoken of as being of service to new arrivals in India.

At the end of the month I dined with Lord Hartington at Devonshire House and met several old Indian friends, and on the 1st of June had a long interview with him to explain the grievances of the Medical services. He was to receive a deputation the next day, and asked me to be present: it was introduced by Sir Lyon Playfair, and Lord Hartington listened to all they had to say and made a courteous reply, which, however, did not promise much, nor, that I am aware of, was much done.

In July I had a long conference with General Wilson, the Military Secretary, on the question of honours for Indian medical officers, which, I am glad to say, resulted in one knighthood—K.C.S.I.—for Dr Forsyth, and three com-

panionships—C.I.E.—for Morehead, Waring, and Chevers. Soon after, my wife and I went to Sandhurst, where we met the Duke of Cambridge, who presented colours to the cadets: Sir Daniel Lysons and Sir Garnet Wolseley were also there. We had gone to visit our third son, who was a cadet: he was subsequently posted to the Suffolk Regiment in India, and from that entered the Staff Corps.

At this time I made the acquaintance of Dr Weir Mitchell, an American physician of great eminence, with whom I subsequently had much friendly correspondence. He, like myself, had been interested in the subject of snake poison, and wrote largely upon that and other scientific and general questions, as well as charming works of fiction.

At the end of August I left for Scotland, and went to Glenlair, near Castle Douglas, to the Wedderburn Maxwells. When there I paid a visit to my old home in Portpatrick. The church which we used to attend was in ruins, with big trees growing inside. Mr Urquhart, the minister when I was a boy, was still minister, a most charming old man of over eighty years of age, who received me with much kindness and evidently with great pleasure. At Dunrobin this year I shot, among others, with Lord Walsingham, and had the usual stalking and grouse-shooting. Thence I went south, visiting Stronvar, the Isle, and Muiravonside, the home of our old friends Mr and Mrs Stirling, and returned home for the 4th of October, our silver wedding-day.

My much-valued and dear old friend Dr Edward Goodeve died, to our great regret, on the 27th, and I wrote an obituary notice of him for the 'Lancet.' No more learned physician than he ever practised in India or inspired his patients with more confidence and affection.

On the 27th of November I went to Sandringham on a visit to the Prince of Wales for a couple of days.

In the beginning of 1881 I was occupied in writing my Lettsomian lectures on dysentery which were to be given this year to the Medical Society. These lectures, together

with other papers on cognate subjects, were subsequently published in a volume entitled 'Tropical Diseases.'

I attended a meeting at Lambeth Palace, by the Archbishop's invitation, to consider how the influence of the so-called antagonism between science and religion could be counteracted. Among those present were Sir James Paget, Sir Thomas Watson, Professor Humphrey, Balfour Stewart, Mackendrick, and others. The subject was discussed, but no very definite conclusions arrived at, although it seemed probable that if science were true science and the Bible properly understood, most of these difficulties would disappear: too early generalisation is to be deprecated in this as in other subjects.

On the 18th of January 1881 we took up our abode in our new house, 53 Wimpole Street.

In May I read a paper on rainfall in India at the Victoria Institute, which apparently excited some interest, especially as regards the western Ghâts and Cherra Poonji on the north-eastern frontier, where the excessive rainfall forms such a contrast to the almost rainless condition of Sind and the desert tracts of India.

In June I paid a visit to Aldershot to see the Medical Corps go through their drill, and was the guest of Surgeon-General Fasson, an old brother officer. The following year he died, and was buried with military honours, the Duke of Connaught and three other generals being pall-bearers.

On the 2nd of August there was the opening meeting of the International Medical Congress, when Sir James Paget gave the address. I dined with Sir William Gull at Willis's Rooms, and met the Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick. At a dinner-party at my own house several of the foreign members of the Congress were present, and the same evening there was a conversazione at the Guildhall. Over 3000 medical men were assembled in London for the Congress — all nationalities — among them Köhler, Virchow, Pasteur, Langenbeck, Olivier, Briquet, Charcot, Austin Flint, Yan-

dell, Billings, Goltz, Pantaleone, Kraus, Becker, Koch, Wood, Biglow, and many others. Needless to say that at this Congress everything new in pathology, medicine, and cognate subjects was freely discussed. I read a paper on insolation in the Military Medical section, where Military Medicine was represented by Sir Thomas Longmore and myself. Huxley gave the concluding address on the 9th.

The examination for the services finished on the 21st of August, and a few days later I left for Scotland, arriving at Dunrobin the next day. I went out on the hill and got a stag in the Benberhaggy wood: he was pulled down by the two staghounds and wounded one of them with his horns. I remained till the 6th of September, grouse-shooting or stalking every day, and then went as far as Inverness with the Duke, arriving at the Lumsdens of Balmedie, near Aberdeen, the same evening. We fished the Don and the Ythan, and in the latter got some good sea-trout. In Aberdeen I was taken over the University, Marischal and King's Colleges, by Professor Struthers, and then went to see the bridge of Balgownie, about which Thomas the Rhymer wrote one of his prophetic distiches: it was to fall "when a wife's ae son and a mare's ae foal" passed over it. It was said that Lord Byron would never ride over that bridge in case he should be riding the single foal of a mare! During my absence I heard of the death at Alexandria of General Sir Vincent Eyre, the hero of Arrah. Another old friend and great Indian soldier gone!

In December we went to Cambridge to see my second son take his degree. He subsequently studied medicine, entered the Army Medical Department, and served in India and with the Horse Guards.

On the 10th I went to Sudbury at midnight with Lord Vernon to see his son, dangerously ill with Indian fever, and returned to town the next day.

Early in 1882 it fell to my lot to deliver the Croonian lectures at the College of Physicians, and I selected for my subject the climate and some of the fevers of India. These

lectures were afterwards published in an elaborated form in a volume entitled 'The Climate and Fevers of India.' They gave me much work both in reference to the subject-matter and in supervising the preparation of the tables and statistics with which they were illustrated. I had thus an opportunity of expressing my views on the origin and nature of the various forms of fever in India, whether referable to malaria or other cause.

On the 22nd of April Charles Darwin died. I had made his acquaintance some time before going to India with the Prince of Wales, had visited him at Down, and had some correspondence with him on scientific matters, and still have his letters. He wrote me a very nice note about my little book on the tiger. An excellent statue of him was placed in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington.

On the 22nd we took our eldest daughter to Paris to school. I visited several of my professional friends and had conversations with them about fever and other malarious diseases. Baron Larrey took me to the Academy of Medicine, and gave me a portrait, some books, and a medal of his father's, Napoleon's surgeon. We went to Namur and Dinant, saw the forest of Ardennes, and returned home *viâ* Brussels.

I had a dinner-party at my house of Sir J. Forsyth, Waring, Morehead, Macnamara, Partridge, Macpherson, Grant, all Indian medical officers of distinction, and some ladies, to present Dr Chevers with some plate and an address which had been sent home for him by the native teachers and students of the Medical College, Calcutta, in gratitude for his kindness to them when he was Principal.

On visiting the Zoological Gardens about this time, I was interested to find that four very fine specimens of the pigmy hog (*Porcula salvania*), which I had so often looked for in vain in the Terai, had arrived from the Bhotan Doars. These are very valuable and very rare: they are perfect little pigs, and their weight varies from 10 to 15 lb.

In August Dr Yandell of Louisville wrote advising me to send my fourth son, Harry, to a ranch in Texas in which he was interested, a suggestion which accorded with his own wishes, and he went the following year.

I tried some experiments at the Zoological Gardens on the poison of the *Heloderma suspectum*, a lizard from South America. There is doubtless poison, but it is not so virulent as in the cobra: so far this is the only poisonous lizard known.

Early in September I left for Scotland and went right through to Dunrobin, remained a few days stalking and shooting, and then gradually worked down south, staying with various friends, including Lord Selkirk.

In November another addition was made to my public duties, for I heard from Sir Trevor Lawrence of my election as governor of Guy's Hospital.

On the 17th Mr Page Roberts preached a most excellent funeral sermon on Sir Thomas Watson, who had just died—a great loss to the medical profession. I knew him well and had much regard for him: he was probably one of the most accomplished physicians that ever lived.

After returning from a shooting trip with Colonel Nassau Lees in Norfolk, in January 1883, I attended two interesting lectures—one at the Victoria Institute by Professor Stokes, F.R.S., on "Science and Scripture not at variance"; the other by Mr Bosworth Smith on the Life of Lord Lawrence, which was followed by others on the same subject.

I wrote to Dr Kynsey of Colombo about getting me some young crocodiles for Professor Michael Foster of Cambridge, and he subsequently sent a number of them, enough to stock the Cam!

About this time the subject of cinchona alkaloids was referred to me by the Secretary of State, for consideration, and I wrote a minute upon it, amongst other things recommending that the analysis should be placed in independent hands.

There were a great many meetings and lectures to attend

just about this time, and memoranda to write, amongst others one for the Foreign Office on quarantine. I was also re-writing the section on liver abscess for Murchison's book, which Lauder Brunton was re-editing.

On the 2nd of May I went to Oxford to see the Prince of Wales lay the foundation-stone of the Indian Institute, and wore the scarlet robe of a doctor of medicine of Edinburgh over uniform and orders. We marched in procession from All Souls to the new site, where the Prince laid the stone with due ceremony. All the eminent men of the university were there, and many other great people besides, including Lord Salisbury, Chancellor of the university. After the ceremony we returned to lunch at the Vice-Chancellor's: Lord Salisbury, Lord Kimberley, and Sir Stafford Northcote made speeches.

In June I went to see the Duke of Connaught about his going to India, and advised H.R.H. not to go or take the Duchess and children before November.

On the 27th of June Mr Spottiswoode, President of the Royal Society, died. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and I went with other Fellows of the Royal Society to the Jerusalem Chamber and walked in procession with Dr Carpenter. Huxley succeeded Mr Spottiswoode as president.

We had a conversazione at the Medical Society to celebrate the opening of the new buildings, and the Prince of Wales and many others were there; there were about 500 present. Old books, microscopes, microscopic preparations of bacteria, bacilli, and the grouse disease, and other objects of interest, were exhibited.

I had been helping the Government in respect of cholera in Egypt, and recommended that my old friend Dr W. G. Hunter should be sent there to investigate and report upon the subject. He was afterwards made a K.C.M.G. for these services, and subsequently became member for Hackney. On the 12th July I attended a committee at the Local Government Board on the subject of cholera in Egypt and the prospects of its invading this country. There were present

Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Vernon Harcourt, Sir E. Currie, Sir E. Du Cane, Sir William Jenner, Sir Lyon Playfair, Dr Buchanan, and Dr J. M. Cuningham. We had a very long discussion, in which I found myself not in accord with some of the authorities. After the committee I went over to the Foreign Office with Sir C. Dilke and Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Under Secretary of State, gave them my views and advice, and recommended them to send medical men under Dr Hunter to Egypt to assist in dealing with the epidemic: my advice was acted upon, and I was asked to select the medical men. Subsequently Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary, thanked me officially for my services.

On August the 1st I went to Liverpool to the meeting of the British Medical Association, dined at the banquet, and returned to London the next day.

On the 31st Dr T. R. Lewis and I went to Amsterdam, where we had been deputed to represent the Indian Government at the Intercolonial Congress: Dr Ewart was with us. Shortly after our arrival we went with Dr Stokvis to the exhibition, to a meeting of the jurors, when I was elected president of the third section. Dr Van Leent was the vice-president, and M. Ferrand, a French scientist, the secretary. The exhibition was in a large pile of buildings erected for the purpose, with an ornamental façade, representing an Indian temple. The Indian section, under Mr Royle, was very good. We visited a model of an old Dutch liqueur-house, and walked home, along the streets and the canals, which were very offensive in some places. Dr Stokvis told us that Amsterdam is not unhealthy and typhoid fever not common, but phthisis is the most prolific cause of death. Of late years malarial diseases have very much diminished in Holland.

We went to Utrecht and saw the cathedral, a fine old Gothic building of brick and stone, dating from the thirteenth century. Part of the nave fell down two hundred years ago, and there is a space separating it from the tower, which was originally part of it. We ascended the

tower, and got a good view of much of Holland and the principal towns in the far distance. We examined all the exhibits of the Medical section carefully, and awarded medals and honourable mentions. In the afternoon we went to Haarlem, through rich, pastoral country, and saw some of the dykes by which the land has been reclaimed during the last twenty-five years. We drove through the city and suburbs, a lovely drive, under trees and past watercourses, the houses looking most clean and comfortable. We visited the old Gothic cathedral, which has been adapted for the Reformed worship: it is grand, simple, and imposing. We then went to the Stadthaus, where we saw some quaint old pictures—one by Thomas Wilson, an Englishman, of the siege of Haarlem, where the women were fighting.

On the 4th of September I was appointed president of the General Committee, Dr Van. Leent vice-president. We drove to the Zoological Gardens, where the collection is very fine and the gardens tastefully laid out: the animals generally are excellent, and the new aquarium is very good. We then went on board a small steamer, where we met a number of members of the Congress, and proceeded to Zaandam, along its picturesque lake and canal, with neat green and other coloured wooden cottages. We landed, and saw Peter the Great's cottage, where he lived and worked as a shipwright. At the Pantopticon Dr Stokvis entertained the Congress at dinner.

The next day at the Trippenhuis Gallery we saw a fine collection of the Dutch masters—Rembrandt, Ostade, Cuyp, Hobbema, Ruysdael, Hondekutter, and others. The Night Watch of Rembrandt was the masterpiece of the collection. They are badly housed, but are soon to be removed to the new museum, which is just finished. We went to Zandvoord, on the North Sea, where the sand has been blown up into dunes and ridges: the beach was of beautiful sand, and a heavy surf was rolling up, the result of a recent gale. We returned *viâ* Haarlem, where we had a lovely

drive in the suburbs and park. In the evening we went to an informal reunion of the members of the Congress, where I made the acquaintance of Dr le Roy de Méricourt, who became afterwards a great friend.

We went to Messrs Daniell's diamond-cutting establishment, and saw diamonds in quantities, in the rough and also polished. The process of diamond-splitting is interesting: it requires great skill, but a slight blow on an instrument resting on the plane of cleavage divides the stone at once quite easily. The Koh-i-noor was cut by this firm, who sent people to London on purpose. After this we went to see the collection Six, where there are many treasures, including Rembrandts and other eminent Dutch masters. At noon we attended the opening of the Congress at the Felix Meritis, when an eloquent address was given by Dr Stokvis on the life of Bontius. Lewis and I, Donders, De Chaumont, M. le Roy de Méricourt, and several others were made honorary presidents. In the evening at another *séance* M. da Silva Amado, the Portuguese delegate, read a paper on acclimatisation in tropical climates, and was followed on the same subject by M. Overbeck de Meyer. I spoke upon this, pointing out the improbability of acclimatising Europeans in the plains of India, and also made some remarks upon the evil effects of deforesting tropical countries. At a public dinner in the evening I spoke in reply to Dr Stokvis. Afterwards we went to the town-hall, where we were received by the burgomaster, M. Van der Oven, who made us an address of welcome, to which Dr Stokvis, myself, and Dr le Roy de Méricourt replied. The walls were hung with paintings of civic authorities, burgomasters, &c., by Bott, Van Hals, and others.

On the 7th I read our paper (Ewart's and mine) in French on the treatment of tropical diseases in temperate climates. M. le Roy de Méricourt then read a paper by himself and Dr Corre on chronic bowel complaints: there was not much discussion, but I spoke upon the subject,

as did M. le Roy de Méricourt. Dr Scriven read a paper on the hypodermic injection of quinine in fever, which I supported. In the afternoon De Chaumont read a paper upon quarantine, which he opposed: Dr Van Leent read one on the other side, as did Da Silva Amado and the Spanish delegate. Dr T. R. Lewis spoke strongly on the subject, entirely opposing it, and declared his opinion that quarantine is quite useless. Dr Ewart spoke emphatically in the same sense. That evening we gave a dinner to some members of the Congress at the Amstel Hotel: I was in the chair, and proposed the health of the King and Queen of the Netherlands, and then of the President, Dr Stokvis: our Queen's health was also drunk. We afterwards adjourned to the new theatre, where an entertainment was given to the Congress.

On the 8th a paper by Dr Waring was read by Dr Guye, and Dr Chevers' paper was also read. Dr Guye was a most talented linguist, and astonished every one by the rapidity and accuracy of his translation of our remarks. We went to the exhibition in boats along the canal and saw the Surinam collections. Here I made the acquaintance of Dr Van Doormal of The Hague, whose clever remarks in quaint English were most amusing. In the afternoon Dr Becher read a paper on education in the Colonies, which was followed by one by Dr Dyce Duckworth and another by M. Catrin, all interesting. We had a grand farewell banquet, where there was much speech-making, in which I had to take my part, representing all my colleagues and thanking the Amsterdam people for their hospitality and kindness.

On the 9th of September we left Amsterdam for Leyden, visited the university and botanical gardens, and then went to a lunch given by the university, where the students sang "Gaudeamus igitur." Thence we went on to The Hague, where we visited the museum and galleries, and saw the celebrated Lesson in Anatomy by Rembrandt, Paul Potter's Bull, and many other interesting paintings. We thence went to Scheveningen, where we had speeches

of welcome made to us by the authorities, dined at the Kursaal, and returned to The Hague.

On the 10th we left The Hague for Antwerp, where in the cathedral we saw Rubens' Descent from the Cross and the Crucifixion, and then went on board the steamer for Harwich. Soon after my return I sent in my official report of the Congress to the Secretary of State for India, and another to Mr Villiers Lister of the Foreign Office.

In November Sir Francis Knollys wrote inviting me on the part of the Prince of Wales to become a member of the Health Exhibition, and afterwards I attended frequent committee meetings, the Duke of Buckingham presiding.

Early in December, at a meeting of the Linnæan Society, Mr Romanes read a paper by Darwin on instinct which excited considerable discussion. He himself wrote several able papers afterwards, but unfortunately died early.

At this time the sun and moon were presenting a very strange colour, due, according to Norman Lockyer, I believe, to the volcanic dust carried universally into the atmosphere from the great volcanic eruption at Krakatoa, in the Strait of Sunda, and there was much correspondence in the papers about the phenomenon.

On the 10th of December I went to Swaffam in Norfolk, on a visit to General Nassau Lees at Cockley Clay, and found a very pleasant party,—Lord Denbigh, Admiral Hoskin, Mr Doyne, Colonel Layard, and Mr Sissley. The weather was stormy and unsettled, and the birds very wild; trees were uprooted, and slates blown off this fine old mansion. Notwithstanding the gale we shot the covers: the pheasants were plentiful but very wild, flying high, and were tossed about in the most curious manner by the wind, many wounded ones carried far away. Our bag the second day was 321 pheasants, 64 hares, and other game. After dinner we had long and most interesting talks. Lord Denbigh, a highly cultivated man, contributed much to the general enjoyment. On returning to town I heard that frightful damage had been caused in Scotland by the gales.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LIFE IN LONDON—*continued*

(1884, 1885, June).

Medical Society—Tercentenary of the Edinburgh University—My books destroyed by fire at the publishers'—Opening of the Health Exhibition—Death of Sir Bartle Frere—Meeting at the Home Office about cholera—Scotland, shooting—Tatton, shooting—Harveian Oration—Lecture on natural history at Watford—Professor Maclean, Netley—Death of Lord Selkirk—Go to Rome to represent India at International Cholera Conference—Visit Naples—Florence—Wiesbaden—My report to Secretary of State.

ON the 19th of February 1884, at a meeting of the Council of the Medical Society to decide on subjects for conference at the Health Exhibition, we chose the one suggested by me, "Effects of the Modern System of Education on Health," and in July I read a paper on home lessons after school at the Exhibition. I had recently read a paper before the Medical Society on snake poison. In March I gave a valedictory address to that Society, and was succeeded in the presidentship by Mr Durham of Guy's Hospital. The year had been a very successful one for the Society, as evidenced by the election of seventy-five new members, the opening of the new house, and the presence of the Prince of Wales at the soirée.

In April I went to Edinburgh, to the Tercentenary of the university, having been specially invited by the university, and stayed with Sir Alexander Christison. On the 16th

there was a great service at St Giles's at which all the doctors wore robes. Afterwards there was a lunch in the university new buildings, about 400 present, followed by a play, the "Fortunes of Nigel," acted at the theatre by the students, a conversazione in the university library, and finally a ball given by the students,—all very crowded. The next day the ceremony of conferring the honorary degrees on 120 persons took place: there were many eminent men amongst them, such as Pasteur and Virchow. This was followed by a luncheon-party at the College of Physicians, receptions by the Advocates and the Royal Medical Society, and a great banquet at the Drill Hall, where 1300 were present. Many excellent speeches were made, amongst others by Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir A. Grant, Virchow, Pasteur, Helmholtz, Lord Reay, and others. There was a beautiful illumination of the Castle and Princes Street, and then a students' symposium, where from 2000 to 3000 people were present and more speeches were made.

My publishers, Messrs Churchill, informed me that at a recent fire at their printers' all the spare copies of my books published by them had been burnt. I sustained the loss, as they had not insured them: my lawyer told me the publishers were not legally responsible.

Early in May I went to the opening of the Health Exhibition and walked in the procession of the Executive Council, of which the Dukes of Cambridge and Buckingham were members. The latter read an address, to which the Prince of Wales replied.

I was making arrangements, by authority of the Secretary of State, to depute Drs Klein and Heneage Gibbs to investigate in India the cause of cholera, with reference to Professor Koch's reports. When they sent in their report the following spring, it did not seem in accord with his views.

When at Brighton I arranged with Ewart about papers for the Copenhagen Congress in August: I sent mine, being unable to go.

In May we had a meeting of the Army Sanitary Committee upon the subject of quarantine in Egypt, about which there was a good deal of discussion, and I also gave clinical lectures at the Charing Cross hospital upon liver abscess and tropical diarrhœa.

For some time I had been reading with my friend Miss Parry, who subsequently helped me much in my literary work, Dante, Alfieri, and Virgil. Italian had long been a favourite language of mine, and it was a great pleasure to revive the study of it. Meeting Mr Lowell, the American Minister, at a dinner-party, we had a long conversation about Dante: he was a great Italian scholar, and kindly offered to show me a valuable Spanish edition of Dante of the sixteenth century for which he gave £40.

On the 30th of May Sir Bartle Frere died at Wimbledon at the age of sixty-nine. He had been ill for some time, and was the second of our Indian party who had died. I went to his funeral at St Paul's. There was a large attendance: the Dukes of Cambridge, Buckingham, Northumberland, Lord Napier of Magdala, and others were there. The body was laid in the crypt close to Nelson's tomb. He was deeply regretted by many friends, being deservedly esteemed for his amiableness and ability both in private and public life.

Cholera was now again discussed at a meeting of the Army Sanitary Committee, and I was appointed a member of the Cholera Committee at the Royal College of Physicians. At the end of July, curiously enough, a well-marked and fatal case of cholera in the Lambeth Infirmary came under my observation, in a man who had not been out of the house for months. The disease was spreading in France and Italy, but was declining in Marseilles and Toulon. Soon after, I met Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Edmund Currie, and other members of the Metropolitan Board, at the Home Office, and discussed the subject of cholera and the preparations for its possible advent in this country.

When at a garden-party at Marlborough House, the

Prince of Wales invited me to be a Royal Commissioner for the Indian and Colonial Exhibition to be held in 1886.

On the 22nd of August we left for Edinburgh, where I saw the Forestry Exhibition, and thence went on to Oban. The road was lovely, the scenery grand to a degree, especially after leaving Callander and ascending Glen Ogle to Killin: the run down thence to Oban, passing Loch Tay, Loch Earn, Loch Awe, and through the Pass of Brander, was most fascinating. The sail through the Sound of Mull round the Point of Ardnamurchan was lovely in fine weather. I arrived at Kyleakin in the evening, where I found my friend Ryrie, his yacht lying just off his house. At Oban the hotel was in a state of commotion: a party had gone out from Oban to Staffa to see the caves and basaltic columns, when a great wave rolled suddenly into Fingal's Cave, washed some of them off the rock, and drowned two.

There were some visitors at Ryrie's, amongst them Colonel Gordon Cumming. I went out in a boat in the evening, fished with a big white fly, and got some lythe (pollack) and coalfish (saith). Ryrie, Gordon Cumming, and I went in the yacht to the island of Scalpa, about ten miles distant, where we landed and shot grouse and black game; we saw several seals near the shore. Ryrie has a farm on this island, and amongst other animals there is an old Arab which breeds with the country mares. The crofters live in wretched little cottages, and look poor and ill-fed; food is scarce and dear, milk especially. One day, with Niel Mackinnon the stalker, I climbed the shoulders of Ben na Cailliach, and got up as high as 1500 feet above the sea. The view of the mountains, sea, lochs, woods, and heather was most glorious. The Cuchullin range was very striking as well as the hills on the mainland, with the arms of the sea meandering in so many directions: the islands of Rasay, Scalpa, Pabay, and other smaller ones were very picturesque. At 1400 feet we found deer, but could not approach them, as they were in a deep corrie: I had a long

shot at a running stag, but missed. We went in the yacht to Loch Hourn, where the scenery is surpassingly grand, though in some respects sombre and gloomy. Ben Scriel, 3000 feet, and other mountains of nearly the same height, overhang it on either side. This loch is a great resort for herrings, and is a favourite place for catching them.

At Dunrobin, where there was a large party, I stalked and shot as usual, got two stags, and left on the 20th for Balmedie, and thence on to Glenlair, Kenmuir Castle, and St Mary's Isle. There my wife and daughter met me, and we found a large party, including the Duchess of Roxburghe. While there I wrote a letter to the Secretary of State for India, enclosing Dr Lewis's report on cholera, from Toulon: his views did not accord with those of Professor Koch. After cover-shooting for four or five days at Tatton Park, I went on to Netherside, and thence returned to London.

The next day the Harveian Oration at the College of Physicians was given by Dr Russell Reynolds: it was a most able and interesting address.

A change had taken place in the Medical Department of the army; it was now called the Medical Staff, and the corps was commanded by the medical officers.

In November I went to Watford on the invitation of Mr Stradling to give a lecture to the Natural History Society on venomous snakes. The lecture was well attended.

I had a conference with the Director-General about a new professor at Netley to succeed Maclean, who had resigned after twenty-five years in the chair of Military Medicine, and nominated Dr D. B. Smith, of the Bengal Medical Service, who was subsequently appointed. Early the following year (1885) a meeting was held at my house to do honour to Professor Maclean on his retirement. The Director-General and other officers were present, and it was decided to present a portrait of him to the school.

In February a paper on the Jews was read at the Anthropological Society, Mr Francis Galton in the chair: many

Jews were present. I made a short speech about Afghan relations with the Jews and about the black Jews of Malabar. It was very interesting to hear a large audience of Jews discussing their own race and their habits and peculiarities.

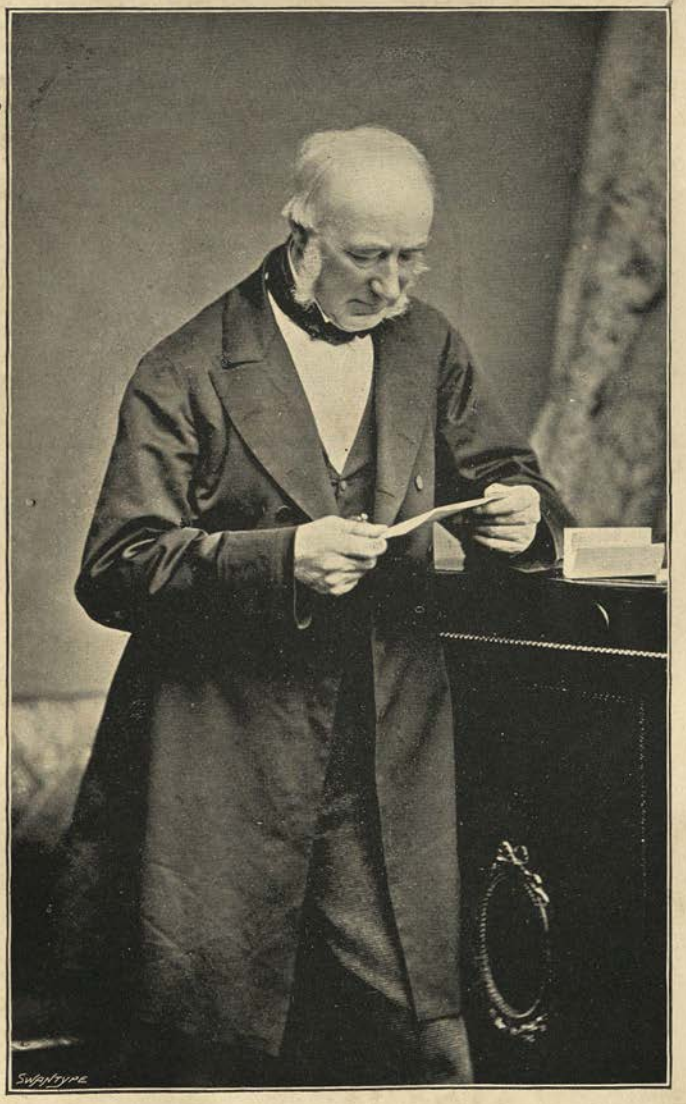
Early in March my son Jim, 5th Gurkhas, came home from India. He was very little changed and looked well, having evidently recovered from his severe illness, of which we had heard by telegram at the beginning of the year.

At a dinner given to Dr Maclean at Netley, there were some good speeches: his was excellent. We held a senate meeting there, and made some regulations about the next session, having a double number of candidates to arrange for. Aitken gave the address at the opening of the session, and it was very interesting: he supported my views on the so-called typhoid fever in India.

Early in April a telegram summoned me to St Mary's Isle to see Lord Selkirk, who was very ill, the result of a chill some days before. We did all we could to relieve him, but with little result. It was very sad to see my dear kind friend sinking under painful and exhausting disease. He died early in the morning of the 11th, much to my distress. He had been my kindest friend and yearly host and companion for many years. I wrote an obituary notice of him for 'Nature.'

In May all prospect of war with Russia seemed to have passed away; we were withdrawing from the Soudan. I fear we do not stand high at present in the estimation of other nations!

On the 16th Lewis and I received our instructions about the International Cholera Conference to be held at Rome. We were to represent India technically and I also diplomatically: other Powers had both diplomatic and scientific representatives, but I had to act in both capacities. We left for Rome on the 17th of May and arrived on the 19th, taking up our quarters at the Hotel Quirinale. My companions were, besides Dr T. R. Lewis, Sir Guyer Hunter, representing



THE EARL OF SELKIRK.

the Foreign Office, and Dr Thorne Thorne, the Local Government Board. In the course of the day we went to see Sir J. Savile Lumley, British Ambassador, who informed us that the Conference was to meet the next day at the Consulta, and on the 20th we went there and were received by Signor Mancini, the Foreign Secretary, to whom we were introduced by our Ambassador. The delegates consisted of Ambassadors, Ministers, and scientific men, to the number of sixty or more. Mancini gave an address declaring the Conference open, the official language to be French, but other languages optional. Mancini was proposed as president by the German Ambassador, and accepted, but said he had so much to do that he must ask to nominate Signor Cadorna, who was then appointed.

On the 22nd Dr Moleschott, Senator of Rome and Professor of Physiology in the university, came to see us. He said they wished to avoid theoretic discussion as much as possible. It was desired that the technical delegates should work at the scientific part of the Congress apart from the diplomatic members. At two o'clock we all assembled. The delegates were arranged in alphabetical order of the countries. My name and Lewis's were omitted when the list was read. I pointed this out to our ambassador, who said that it would be corrected: I replied it must not only be officially corrected, but explained, or we should decline to take any part in the proceedings, and that I must report it to the Secretary of State for India. Before night I received through the Embassy a full explanation and apology from the president. It was settled that the medical delegates should form a committee and discuss the practical bearings of the subject, and that in general discussions only one delegate should vote for each country. In the case of India this duty devolved on me.

On the 23rd the technical committee met, Professor Bacelli in the chair, as former Minister of Education, I believe. He invited the committee to choose a chairman, and Professor Moleschott was unanimously elected. He was

peculiarly fitted for the post: he was a philosopher, a scientific physician of great eminence, especially as a physiologist, spoke English, French, German, and Italian perfectly, and, as we subsequently found, at once grasped the meaning of what was said and quickly rendered it into French. The chief subject discussed both morning and afternoon was land quarantine. The English delegates opposed it, and the proposal that it should be abolished was passed unanimously, with the exception of the Turkish delegate. In the evening we took a moonlight walk as far as the church of Gésu. An old priest told us all about it, how it contained an arm of St Francis Xavier, and seemed much interested at hearing that I had seen the rest of the saint's body at Goa.

On the 24th we lunched at the Embassy and saw Sir John's pictures, his antiquities excavated by himself, an old Roman wall and bath.

On the 25th the discussion commenced by a proposition from Dr Sternberg that arbitrary time quarantine of ships is unreliable and useless, and that it does harm by preventing the adoption of more rational measures. The Turks, French, Danes, and others opposed it; Dr Thorne gave a clear explanation of the sanitary inspection system in England; and I pointed out that no cholera had been brought to England through the constant communication *viâ* the Red Sea and Canal, and challenged any one to show that it had been so. Lewis and I went to St Peter's and heard vespers with beautiful Whitsuntide music. After dinner Thorne, Lewis, Sternberg, and I went to Professor Moleschott's, and there met the French delegates, Drs Rochard, Proust, and Brouardel.

On the 26th sea quarantine was discussed, and M. Brouardel proposed that sanitary measures were most important in prevention of cholera at ports, and I supported him. On the whole, though vigorous opposition was made to the abolition of quarantine, many, French included, appeared desirous of conciliating and conceding. After the Con-

ference we visited the Columbaria di Vigni Codini, only one of which was excavated when I was here in 1848. We dined at the palace; the ambassadors and delegates were all present. Our ambassador introduced us to the King, who talked with me before and after dinner about cholera, India, shikar, and other matters. I said I had heard he was a great chasseur, and he replied that he was very fond of it. There were about 110 at dinner, and the King occupied a couple of hours talking with every one till dinner was announced.

On the 27th and 28th the subject discussed was sanitation at ports and on board ship. In reply to Dr Semmola of Naples I pointed out that if cholera in a port is to make it suspect, Indian ports would always be so, and that to carry out his proposition that all the luggage of every passenger who leaves Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay is to be disinfected before going on board would be almost impracticable.

May the 29th was again very hot, the glare of the sun intense; Lewis, Thorne, and I went with Dr Sternberg to see Mr Story's studio: he was most kind, and showed us all his newest works, Cleopatra, Salome, and others, and several fine portraits and statues. We went to the Conference as usual, and discussed the same subject as yesterday. I fear difficulties are beginning to arise, and that propositions are coming forward, initiated by the French and supported by Koch, to which we cannot assent.

On the 30th we began with the discussion of the Red Sea: certain propositions elaborated by a sub-committee were read and discussed. They were drawn up by M. Brouardel, and evidently were meant to make concessions; but we could not accept them, as they involved principles to which we could not assent. We were anxious to meet our colleagues in every way and not stand on points of detail, but we could not sacrifice principle. Of course we were out-voted, but we all spoke very decidedly, and only hoped that what we said would be fully recorded. The French delegates seemed dis-

appointed that we did not support them. The discussion did not terminate till seven o'clock, and we were all very tired.

On May the 31st Lewis and I drove to the Villa Salvarelli, near the Porta San Pancrazio, to see Major and Mrs Heyland. The villa is lovely: they have made a charming residence of it, with beautiful gardens. It is near the fountain of Aqua Paola, close to where I saw Oudinot's advanced guard attack Rome in 1848. The view of Rome is splendid, a perfect panorama of the old city from Monte Mario to the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and in the far distance the Campagna, the Alban and Sabine hills, and Monte Soracte. The distant hills still had snow on them: a thunderstorm was going on in the Alban hills, and the effect was grand. The temperature was much lower than in the city. We passed the Ghetto, part of which was being thrown down: the Jews were still there, but under no restrictions.

On June the 1st the subject of discussion at the Conference was again sanitary arrangements in ships: we were able to assent to some propositions, but not all. After dinner Thorne and I took a walk on the Pincian Hill: it was a lovely night, bright starlight, fireflies flitting about. I received further official instructions from the Secretary of State as to mode of action at the Conference. They did not reach me till the day after the Red Sea discussions, but the action we had taken was in accordance with them.

The next day the subject discussed at the Conference was disinfectants, and it had been well thought out and prepared by Dr Koch, Thorne, and others. I proposed, after the subject had been discussed in an irrelevant, discursive way, that it should be put to the vote to accept it *en bloc:* this was agreed to. Thorne, Lewis, and I, accompanied by Mr Shakespear Wood, an archæologist, went to the Forum, and there he pointed out the site and relative position of the temples and other buildings, and the direction of

the different roads, Via Sacra, Vicus Tuscus. We walked along the Via Sacra, on the very blocks of basalt pavement trodden by the old Romans, under the Temple of Saturn, along the mosaic courts of Julia's basilica; sat on the spot where Cicero spoke and where Antony addressed the people, and near the steps down which Bibulus was hurled by an angry crowd. It was all intensely interesting, and would give occupation for months of close study. The Vestals' house is specially remarkable, so much remains, the statues of the ladies themselves are so good, and the records left on the marble pedestals of their names, virtues, &c.—in one case, alas! the name has been erased —so clear.

On June the 3rd I went to the Santo Spirito Hospital to see a case of thoracic aneurism operated on by Bacelli's method of introducing a spring of steel into the aneurismal sac. The spring is pushed in through a cannula, curls itself up inside the sac, and causes coagulation. The tumour in this case was large, and six delicate watch-springs were introduced. There was very little bleeding through the cannula. Bacelli had had two other cases: one died, the second recovered. Several of the delegates and a number of students and other visitors were present. The room in which we assembled was circular, highly decorated, and the panels ornamented with anatomical drawings depicting vivisection of animals and criminals. The seats extended all round the room; in the centre was a reserved area with one row of seats and the table on which the patient was lying. We were received with great ceremony and introduced by Professor Bacelli, all rising. He perambulated backwards and forwards as he made an able address on the subject, to which the patient was listening with evident anxious interest. Nothing was said of his case but what was hopeful, but fatal cases were alluded to, and pros and cons discussed. I thought that the pictures on the walls all round him, and the preparations for an operation, must have produced feelings that were not enviable! But evidently all was

kindly intended and skilfully done. The man bore the operation well, but died three days afterwards.

At the Conference a programme of the sub-committee on measures to be taken on the arrival of ships in Europe was discussed, but it was considered so unsatisfactory that, after talking about it for three or four hours to no purpose, it was voted that the matter be referred to the sub-committee and presented again the next day: the whole day, in fact, was wasted. My servant had a sharp attack of Roman fever about this time, and was laid up for several days, but ultimately recovered.

We visited many churches and other places, and amongst them the Pantheon—

> "Simple, erect, severe, austere, sublime—
> Shrine of all saints, and temple of all gods."

It is in better repair than when I last saw it. People were visiting the shrine of Victor Emmanuel, where all the garlands and other tributes of respect still hang. The marbles in many of these churches are lovely; but where are they not so in Rome!

On June the 4th I went with Dr Moleschott to the university. We saw the *rettore*, who sent for the books and showed me my name entered as M.D. in the year 1849: I obtained a copy of this. There is a fine bust of Garibaldi, and a monument on the wall to the students who died in the war.

The subject of discussion at the Conference was the Red Sea pilgrimages, and the terms we obtained, though not all we wanted, were infinitely better than those in force. The delegates then passed on to discuss twaddle about baths, douching, &c.—fancy douching 1000 men in a troopship!—until we were obliged to insist that it was unworthy of the assembly. The *séance* then closed.

On June the 5th in the morning we went to the Vatican museum and saw its treasures: there are many additions since I last saw it, of which the colossal gilt bronze statue

of Hercules is one of the most remarkable. We had the Conference as usual, and discussed a report of the sub-committee concerning the prevention of movements of cholera on land. I suggested that this should be accepted *en bloc*, for though I did not approve of some of the details, it was reasonable on the whole and carefully drawn up. It was discussed, however, in part, and what remained was left for the next day. After the Conference was over we drove to St Peter's and saw many of its treasures, and then to Santa Maria Maggiore with its beautiful font and old mosaics: the evening light falling in the nave was very lovely.

On June the 6th we discussed some important points, and insisted on sanitary measures being the best protection against cholera. We concluded the subject of measures at the ports of arrival and interior, and also the report of the sub-committee about cholera on land. A proposal to establish a central system of notification of cholera and other epidemic diseases was agreed to with some modifications. This completed the work of the technical committee. Before we separated I proposed—and spoke in French—that Dr Moleschott, our excellent chairman, should be requested to act as our spokesman at the General Conference on Thursday next; whilst Zoeros Pacha proposed a vote of thanks to him, which was carried with acclamation. In the afternoon we went to a garden-party at Sir John Savile Lumley's, where we met numbers of people of all nations.

On June the 7th Lewis and I went to see a review of the troops by the King and Queen. The men looked well, especially the Bersaglieri and Life Guards, who were cheered by the people as they passed: we had a splendid view from Dr Moleschott's house. We lunched at the Embassy, and had a consultation with Sir John about the meeting of the Plenary Conference. At five o'clock we went to the Consulta to decide how the proceedings should be brought before it, and after much discussion it was decided that Dr Moleschott should act as our representative. The Swiss Minister made a complimentary speech about our work; I proposed a vote

of thanks to the six secretaries, and our Conference ceased its labours.

On June the 8th the delegates left early for Naples by special train, and we crossed the Campagna, through Albano and Velletri. The country looked lovely with wild-flowers and vines, the distant peaks of the Apennines still white with snow. A great crowd was at the station at Naples to receive us. Thorne, Lewis, and I drove to Posilipo: the view of the bay and of Vesuvius, with Torre del Greco, Castel a Mare, and Sorrento lying at or near its foot, was lovely. The lights and shadows were beautiful, and there was a pleasant breeze.

June the 9th was spent on board the steamer Tigre, placed at our disposal by the King, and under the charge of Captain Setembrini of the Italian navy, cruising about the Bay of Naples, visiting Capri, Sorrento, and Castel a Mare. The bay looked lovely, though the sky was cloudy and the top of Vesuvius quite hidden. We steamed first to Nisida, where we saw the quarantine station, then along the coast to the temple of Serapis, which has risen or fallen with the elevation or depression of the land, so volcanic here, and is marked by marine shells and borings: next to the old Misenum with its sheltered harbour, where the Roman galleys lay so safely. We then steamed across to Capri, got into boats, and went into the grotto, a low cave-like aperture in the cliff, by which the sea enters, where the slight rise and fall of this tideless sea can be seen by the line on the rock. A boat can just enter with the passengers stooping, and inside you come into a fairy-like scene, so beautifully blue is the deep, clear water, and with certain light, the air also and the whole cavern: the water alone looked blue to-day, the sun not being in the right position, but it was surpassingly lovely. A boy dived, and looked like silver in its depths. We then steamed to Sorrento and landed. Some men and girls in costume danced the tarentella: it was very pretty and interesting. The old town is lovely, with its quaint streets, orange-groves, vineyards, and flower-gardens

in great perfection—a perfect garden of the Hesperides! We drove to Castel a Mare along the most beautiful road I have ever seen, overlooking the bay. On our return to Naples, Lewis and I drove to see the zoological station and aquarium, where we were shown interesting specimens of low forms of marine life, the laboratory, tanks, methods of working, &c., and also some large octopods.

June the 10th was very close and hot, the sky hazy and the air moist. We went to see the new water-works at Capo di Monte. These consist of a series of immense reservoirs, cut in the *tufo* rock at a considerable depth from the surface, which are reached by steps cut in a circular shaft, lighted by electricity. The air felt moist and clammy like that of a cave. There are five enormous reservoirs, which will hold water enough for all Naples: the works have been completed in less than three years, and were opened by the King a short time ago. The water comes in aqueducts for twenty or thirty miles, from the Apennines, and seems clear and pure: it will be a great blessing to Naples. We visited Pompeii, were met at the station by the syndic with a band and a guard of honour, and marched in procession to the entrance of the ancient city. The excavations have made great progress since I was here in 1872, and everything is kept with the greatest care. We saw some digging going on and one jar turned out, also bits of frescoes painted on walls. It was very hot and I felt oppressed, and was glad to get back to the station and return to Naples. I immediately accompanied Drs Moleschott, Rochard, Koch, Zoeros Pacha, and one or two others to see the prefect, Count San Severino, and the syndic, to thank them officially for their kindness.

June the 11th was a wet, sultry morning. We went to the museum and saw, though rather hurriedly, the splendid collection of antiquities and paintings, bronzes from Herculaneum and Pompeii, frescoes, and a variety of implements of all sorts, showing that the ancients had much that we have. The sculptures are surpassingly beautiful. We visited the

church of San Severo and saw the veiled dead Christ and the man escaping out of a net in which he is entangled. The small church is filled with treasures of marble.

On our way back to Rome, at Ciprano, where a banquet was prepared for us, I was called upon to propose Italy.[e] I did so, associating Moleschott with the toast, and when I referred to him as

> "Maestro di color che sanno,
> Seder tra filisofica famiglia,
> Tutti l' ammiron, tutti onor gli fanno,"

there was much applause. Dr Rochard proposed the health of the secretaries, who well deserved all said about them, for they had indeed been indefatigable. We got back to the Quirinale early the next morning.

On June the 12th there was a violent thunderstorm, which cooled the air. At two o'clock we went to the Plenary Conference, the third meeting, Cadorna in the chair. He reported the receipt of proceedings of the technical committee, and asked if the Conference was prepared to go on with the consideration of the subject on this basis. The German Ambassador made a speech complimentary to the labours of the technical committee, said that the propositions were so important that time must be given to refer them to the different Governments, and proposed an adjournment till November: this was carried almost unanimously. The Greek diplomatic agent said that, whatever might be the result, his Government intended to continue quarantine by sea and land.

Hunter, Lewis, and I went to an "at home" at Mancini's. He talked to me a good deal, asked about India, where I had learned to speak Italian—as he said—so well, and hoped I would come back when the Conference reassembled.

On June the 13th we drove to the tomb of Egeria, visiting the little church of Domine quo vadis on the way. A piece of the old Appian pavement runs through the

church, and in the centre is a block with two impressions of footprints of our Saviour, who left them, it is said, when He appeared to St Peter, who met Him on the spot and spoke to Him. The original block of basalt on which the footprints were left was taken to St Sebastian's church, the copy placed here in its stead. As we drove back to Rome, we went out of our way by Porta San Paolo to see the great church: its interior is magnificent, with marble and mosaic, and portraits of popes. We were much struck with the coldness of the church: I should be curious to ascertain how much the temperature falls in these great churches in the hot weather.

The last meeting of the Plenary Conference took place at two o'clock. It was declared closed for the present, to meet again on November the 16th. The duty of supervising the construction of a *relevé* and of editing the *procés verbaux* was formally confided to Dr Moleschott and Dr Erhardt, who both live in Rome. I heard, to my great regret, of the death of the former in 1893. We wrote an official letter to Sir J. S. Lumley, signing it as British and Indian delegates, thanking him for the excellent services of Mr Beauclerk, the attaché, and for his kindness to us personally. After the Conference Lewis and I went to Villa Borghese and saw the museum: it is a perfect collection of statuary and pictures. The Hermaphrodite is a most magnificent work of art.

On June the 15th Lewis and I went with Mr Wood to the Palace of the Cæsars, a most interesting expedition. In a storehouse at the entry we saw two bronze figures which had recently been found in the Via Nazionale, of gladiators with cestus. They were injured, but being restored, and were wonderful works of art; the swollen hands and bruised faces of the boxers were most graphically depicted. The halls, galleries, terraces, and other remains of the old palace are deeply interesting, and prove how splendid the architecture was in those days. We saw the place in which Caligula was murdered. Traces of painting

and numerous mosaics remain: these are treasures which the whole world should cherish and protect. After dinner we went to see the girandolo from St Angelo, which was beautiful: the King and Queen were there, and most of the principal people of Rome.

June the 15th was a clear, beautiful day, but the heat was almost tropical. We went to the Embassy at ten o'clock to meet Signor Scibona and Sir J. S. Lumley, who wanted to talk over some details in the proceedings of the Conference. We then went with Sir John to see the marble horses' heads he had excavated, at Macdonald's studio. They are very fine. After lunch we drove to the Farnese, Corsini, and Borghese palaces, which we saw, with all their treasures. How delightful it was to me to see again those works of art, the Ecce Homo of Guercino and Guido, and the last piece of Raphael!

I omitted to note that I went yesterday morning to see Prince Vicovaro Cenci's child in consultation with Bacelli and Lorenzo. The Princess is an American, the Prince a fine, good-looking fellow of about thirty-eight or forty.

June the 16th was another hot, bright day. Poor Mr Nagay, the Japanese delegate, was dangerously ill with fever. I saw him frequently with Dr Aitken and Dr Erhardt: he ultimately recovered. We went to the Vatican and saw the Sistine chapel, the Loggie, and the Stanze. The Swiss guard was on duty as in old days, but how all else was changed! The Pope likes to regard himself as a prisoner, and his temporal power is limited to the Vatican. I saw the Transfiguration, the Communion of St Jerome, the Madonna of Foligno, and other old friends again, looking beautiful as ever. I dined with Mr and Mrs Beauclerk, and went with them to the Opera Linda at the Costanza. In the evening I had been to St Peter's alone to take a last look, and walked over the grand church, which seemed grander than ever!

Beauclerk sent a Foreign Office bag to help us as bearers of despatches, and we started on the morning of the 17th of June for Florence. We passed through Orvieto, Cortona,

Arezzo, Chiusi, past the lovely Lake Trasimene and Perugia into the valley of the Arno, and arrived in Florence in the evening, where I went to visit Mr Ninian Thomson at the Villa Gheradesca, two or three miles out of Florence.

The next day we went to the Duomo and admired the beautiful variety of coloured marbles covering the exterior. There are some quaint old bas-reliefs on the walls, one of Eve being pulled out of the sleeping Adam's side. We went into the *battistêrio* with its beautiful old mosaic roof: all the christenings take place here, and the people are very proud of it, as well they may be. We saw also the Bobboli Gardens. We then drove to Santa Croce and saw the monuments, and in some cases the tombs, of holy and great men—Michael Angelo, Dante—

"Ungrateful Florence, Dante sleeps afar"—

Galileo, and many besides, and the frescoes of Giotto and others, long buried under plaster by a jealous competitor for artistic fame; but they are gradually being uncovered and restored, as are also the mosaics of the roof, which have for centuries been hidden with white paint. We saw the Palazzo dei Signori, the Uffizi, and the Tribuna with its treasures. We went through the long covered galleries across the river to the Pitti, and saw the priceless treasures there, the Seggiola and Murillo's Madonna.

The next day we drove into Florence by the Porta Romana, where there is a lovely view of the city, through vineyards and olive-gardens, past the Protestant burying-ground, to the Certosa, a fine old Carthusian monastery, which has still a few monks and lay brothers. One of the latter took us over it and showed us the chapels, the tombs of the founders, benefactors, and others, and the cells in which the monks live. We saw the rooms in which the Pope—Pius VII., I think—lived during Napoleon's time. We went into the refectory, pharmacy, and other places, and tasted the chartreuse, green and red, which is prepared here.

I left Florence for Wiesbaden, where I found my friend

Mrs Eldridge, and thence went on to Paris to see my daughter, who was at school there, and arrived in London the next day.

For this expedition I received the thanks of the Government and an honorarium. The same letter told me that there would not be a meeting of the Conference in November. On the 30th of June I saw Lord Randolph Churchill, the new Secretary for India, and had a long conversation with him upon the subject of the Roman Conference and the action of the British delegates. He was very kind, and spoke approvingly of all we had done.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LIFE IN LONDON—*continued*

(July 1885–1888).

Cholera in Europe—Scotland, shooting—Miss Florence Nightingale—Royal Society—Professional visit to Cannes—Athenæum Club—Queen lays foundation-stone of Examination Hall—Indian and Colonial Exhibition opened by the Queen—Visit to Holland—Dr Oliver Wendell Holmes—Scotland, shooting—Italian hospital—Hunterian Oration—Visit to Dinan and Paris—The Jubilee—Queen lays foundation-stone of Imperial Institute—Scotland, shooting—Marriage of my eldest daughter—Visit Carlsbad—Life there—Return by Nuremberg—Death of Emperor of Germany—Scotland, shooting—Existence of Netley as a school threatened—Danger averted by intervention of the Queen—Write for the 'Nineteenth Century'—Death of Duchess of Sutherland.

In July 1885 cholera was reported to be very bad in Spain, 1000 persons dying daily. It was also at Toulon and Marseilles, and continued to be very severe in Spain, upwards of 70,000 persons dying.

On our way to the North at the end of August we stayed in Edinburgh, and went to see Abbotsford and Melrose Abbey. I went on to Dunrobin, and during my stay there got two stags and some good grouse-shooting. On leaving Dunrobin I went to Kyleakin, and was out sea-fishing or stalking every day, but was not very successful with the deer. One day, whilst lying down flat, watching a stag on the side of Ben na Cailliach, a golden eagle came almost within touch, so close that I could see the colour of his

eye and his talons, but the moment he saw me he soared high up in the air. After staying a few days at Glenlair, I drove over to Crawfordton in Glencairn, where Colonel and Mrs Walker gave me a kind reception. We went over to Maxwellton, Annie Laurie's house, and saw Mrs Laurie, who is its present owner. There is a portrait of Annie Laurie there: she seems to have been a fickle young lady who jilted her lover, Douglas of Finland, for Fergusson of Craigdarroch. In the village churchyard I saw the tombs of some martyrs who were shot in the Covenanting times. The next day I went out with Colonel Walker, his son, and Fergusson of Craigdarroch, Annie Laurie's great-great-grandson: we got a very good bag of 106 head on the 1st of October, and that night I returned to London. I then went to Tatton Park and found several visitors there, Lord and Lady Wantage and Sir Theodore and Lady Martin (*née* Faucit) among them. The two following days we shot the covers, the party being Sir Henry Wilmot, Lord Amherst, General Feilding, Mr Egerton, and some others: we got 251 head, pheasants, partridges, hares. My visit was cut short by an attack of bronchitis which obliged me to return to London.

At Netley this month we had a committee consisting of Mr Guy Dawnay, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, Sir Thomas Crawford, Director-General, Sir A. Clark, R.E., and myself, on the question of a new building for a school and more accommodation. We made several notes with a view to a future report, from which, however, very little resulted. I may here say that Mr Dawnay, some years later, was killed by a wild buffalo whilst shooting in Africa.

I paid Miss Florence Nightingale a visit, and had a conversation with her upon sanitary questions. She seemed to be in delicate health, but was much interested and talked energetically on the subject.

In November Mr Hake gave a lecture in St James's Hall on General Gordon: there was a large audience, over which

Lord Cranbourne presided: it was very interesting. The nation had been disgusted by the way Gordon had been treated, and blamed the Government for the vacillating policy which had resulted in his death.

Professor Stokes was this year elected President of the Royal Society, and at the dinner Huxley made a speech on retiring from the presidential chair. Mr Phelps, the American Minister, made an excellent speech. These dinners are always interesting.

Having received a telegram asking me to go as soon as possible to Cannes professionally, I left on the 13th of December, went through direct, and found my patient very ill, so remained a week, staying with my friend Dr Charles. I went to Mentone, Nice, Monte Carlo, and Bordighera, and also paid a visit to an old friend, Mr Wylie, who had a very beautiful house at the Cap d'Antibes. The patient was in a very unsatisfactory condition, and did not live long afterwards. I brought with me from Cannes two curious birds, hybrids between the Egyptian goose and the ruddy sheldrake, and presented them to the Zoological Gardens, where they lived for many years.

On my return letters from Baron Larrey and M. le Roy de Méricourt informed me of my election as a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Medicine of Paris. A few years later I was promoted to be a Foreign Associate. I had also during the year been made an Honorary Corresponding Member of the Société d'Hygiène publique of Paris and of the Academy of Medicine of Rome.

In February 1886 I became a member of the Athenæum Club, having waited some fifteen years for election.

On making up the lists of the competitive examination for the Indian army and navy Medical Services, my second son came out first for the army. His paper in my subject had been looked over by Mr Pollock.

On March the 2nd I gave a lecture on cholera to the Young Men's Christian Association at Exeter Hall, Lord

Wantage in the chair. Lord Fortescue proposed a vote of thanks, which was seconded by Sir H. Pitman, M.D.

I went in full uniform to see the Queen lay the foundation-stone of the Examination Hall of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons on the Embankment. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of Cambridge, and the three Princesses were there.

With the concurrence of the Director-Generals of the army and navy, Sir Andrew Clark, and the Secretary of State for India, I was devising a set of rules respecting the vision of candidates for the services. These were subsequently drawn up by myself, Mr Charles Macnamara, and Mr John Couper, and were adopted by the Government as the standard for visual fitness for the Indian services. The credit for the details of this work was due to my two colleagues.

At the end of April a telegram informed me that Dr T. R. Lewis was very ill at Netley. I went at once and found his condition to be very serious: he died on May the 7th. He was a man of great scientific eminence, and specially known for his researches into the etiology of cholera. I much deplored the death of a dear and valued friend.

On May the 3rd there was a meeting of the Royal Commission at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, when the Prince of Wales read an address, and the next day the Queen opened the exhibition. I attended as Royal Commissioner. This was the most successful of the series of exhibitions that had been held annually at South Kensington. At the concluding meeting, in the spring of the following year, it was found that there was a surplus of £5000.

Soon after this my wife and I left Harwich for Rotterdam, where we saw the pictures, the churches, Erasmus's house, and his statue. The next day we went in a small steamer along the canals to Delft; the country was flat, but picturesque and characteristic. We saw the monuments of Van

Tromp, Grotius, Leeuwenhoek, and then went to the Delft pottery manufactory and saw the whole process of making, painting, &c. The modern Delft is very different to the old, and though more beautiful, is not so valuable. At The Hague we saw the royal palace and visited Scheveningen. On our way to Amsterdam we stopped at Leyden to see the university, and at Haarlem. We remained at Amsterdam three or four days and saw a good deal of Madame de Neufville, whom I had met in Rome. We went to the Island of Marken in the Zuyder See, sailed across in a *schuyt*, and saw an auction going on. The costumes of the women and children were wonderfully picturesque. We returned *viâ* Utrecht and Brussels, where we stayed one day to see the Palais de Justice, the Wiertz and other picture-galleries, and the churches. Holland is a delightful country to travel in.

On my return I found I had been appointed President of the Association of medical men holding sanitary science diplomas. This developed afterwards into an important public society called the Royal Society of Public Health.

In June, at a dinner at the Conservative Club, I met Dr Oliver Wendell Holmes, the American poet, a charming old man, who delighted us all the evening with his conversation.

At the end of August I called on Lord Cross, the new Secretary of State for India, and in the evening left by the night train for Edinburgh on my way to Oban and on to Skye. We had three deer-drives, and in the second I shot a fine hind. At Dunrobin, as usual, there were many charming people: this year I got six stags. At Edinburgh my son, who was stationed at the castle, met me, and we lunched at the mess of the 72nd. Before returning to London I went to the Isle, Glenlair, Crawfordton, and Maxwellton.

Early in December we heard, to our great sorrow, of the sudden death of a dear old friend and colleague, Dr Norman Chevers. He had been principal of the Medical College, Calcutta, and was famous alike as a physician, a

medical jurist, and an antiquarian: he was a man of wide and varied culture, and of a most amiable disposition. I subsequently wrote an obituary notice of him for the 'Lancet.'

At a meeting of the College of Physicians it was decided by a majority to seek permission for the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons to grant degrees. I opposed this as against the interests of the colleges, and because a college ought to have no such power: a degree can only be conferred by a university. I was a very regular attendant at the Comitia, also attended the lectures given annually at the College, and took much interest in the proceedings of the Council during the three years that I was a member of it.

Being interested in the Italian Hospital, I wrote to Signor Ortelli about asking the Italian Ambassador to become patron, and signed a letter to Count Corti to that effect. This office he ultimately accepted, and the Italian royal family patronised the hospital. I had been some time before elected Governor and Consulting Physician.

At the presentation of prizes at Netley early in 1887 by Sir Donald Stewart I had to announce to the meeting that Dr Waring had presented his books, numbering about 700 volumes, to the library. This was an important gift and much appreciated, especially coming from this distinguished Indian medical officer.

The Hunterian Oration was this year delivered at the College of Surgeons by Mr Savory, who was very eloquent. He spoke for a full hour most exhaustively, without a moment's hesitation.

In May we left London for Paris, stopping at Dinan on the way. Dr le Roy de Méricourt took me to a meeting of the Academy of Medicine of Paris, where I met Larrey, Ricord, Rochard, Proust, Brouardel, and others, was introduced to the president, and took my seat beside Larrey. A man from whom the larynx had been removed was presented before the Society: he was nearly well, and with a silver tube spoke quite articulately. I took this opportunity of

seeing the Pasteur Institute, met Pasteur there, and saw thirty or forty men, women, and children inoculated for hydrophobia. The inoculations are continued for ten or twelve days, for the first five days twice daily: no evil results, they tell me, follow. The rabbits, from the spinal cords of which the solutions were prepared, were to be seen in various stages of paralysis, or dead. My friend Dr Catrin took me to the *caserne* of the Sapeurs-Pompiers and showed me all their arrangements, which seemed very complete. I called on several French medical men, and had a long talk with Léon Colin, who shares my views as to the etiology of so-called tropical typhoid fever.

On the 21st of June, the celebration of the completion of the fiftieth year of the Queen's reign, her Jubilee, my wife and I went to Westminster Abbey to see the ceremony. We were in the choir, the Indian section, and saw the Queen and her suite very well. The service was beautiful and not too long. The whole thing went off splendidly; the day was lovely, there were very few accidents, and the crowd, though very great, was orderly.

The next day I went to Buckingham Palace to the presentation to the Queen of the locket the Prince's household had given her Majesty, and also of the offering made by her own household. The Crown Prince and Princess of Germany, the Duke of Connaught, and many others were there. On the 4th of July the Queen laid the foundation-stone of the Imperial Institute, which was intended to be a memorial of her Jubilee: the building was completed and opened by the Queen in May 1893.

At a meeting of the Netley senate I undertook to ask Baron Larrey to present the prizes at Netley next year. He promised to do so, but at the last his heart failed him and he wrote to be excused: it was rather too much for him at his advanced age, over eighty.

Towards the end of the month of August another attack of illness prostrated me for some days, and did not leave me altogether till I got to Skye early in September. It was

stormy and unsettled most of the time, but I got out every day, shooting or fishing, and had rather more fishing this time. At Dunrobin I had some very good stalking, getting five stags. Just about this time my ankles began to get very troublesome, and interfered considerably with shooting; in fact I could walk very little. This year I stayed at Balmedie and Tarland, Aboyne, with the Lumsdens, and Cowdenknowes with the Hopes. My visit to Scotland ended at Crawfordton, where I was able to walk a little better, and went out shooting every day.

I sent M. le Roy de Méricourt reports and pamphlets about leprosy, as there was a discussion going on about it at the Academy of Medicine; and I was also occupied in collecting statistics for Lord Wolseley, with reference to the question of deterioration of the British soldier by length of service in India.

This spring (1888) a new president of the College of Physicians was elected, when Sir Andrew Clark was run very close by Dr Quain: 152 fellows voted, the largest number ever known on such an occasion.

In April my eldest daughter was married to Richard Arnold Edgell, then a master at Westminster school, at Westminster Abbey. There were many people in the Abbey and a large gathering of old friends at the house. Later in the day I presided at a lecture by Mr Justice Cunningham at the Parkes Institute.

The following day Sir William Grove, author of the 'Correlation of Forces,' lectured at the Royal Institution on "Antagonism." It was an excellent lecture and worthy of the powerful intellect of the great judge and scientist. I had also heard Norman Lockyer upon "Nebulæ," and by way of another intellectual diversion I saw Coquelin in "Tartuffe" and "Les Précieuses Ridicules."

In May at the opening of the College of State Medicine I gave a short address, and also the annual oration at the Medical Society, on the natural history and epidemiology of cholera.

My health had been failing again, so I made up my mind to act on Dr John Macpherson's advice and go to Carlsbad, and accordingly Dr Ewart and I left for that place at the end of May. Dr Kraus told me which springs to drink, and advised massage and moor-baths. The programme was much the same every day—*i.e.*, three glasses of water early every morning, beginning at 6 A.M., with a short walk of ten or fifteen minutes between each glass; light breakfast at 8; a moor-bath every other day at 10 or 12 o'clock; lunch of plain food at 1.30; massage at 8.30, and a very light supper. The moor-bath was filled with a thick, black paste, like a poultice, made of peat from Franzensbad. In this, which is warm, one remains for twenty-five minutes; next one gets into a bath of warm Sprudel water to wash off the paste. It is a dirty proceeding, but does good. The salutary effects of the waters are greatly enhanced by the circumstances under which they are taken—*i.e.*, the change of air, and surroundings, with perfect rest, the open-air life, moderate exercise, a well-ordered dietary, and the mental attitude of a society whose chief aim and object is to do that which is conducive to the restoration of health. On all these grounds Carlsbad is often peculiarly adapted to those who have spent many years in tropical climates and have suffered from the functional derangements and disorders incidental to life there.

The country round Carlsbad is beautiful. The woods on the hillsides are full of birds; it is said that pheasants and partridges are to be got in the coverts and fields, woodcock, black game, and capercailzie in the woods, in autumn and winter. The roe is to be found in the pine-woods, and the red-deer farther off. There is a considerable variety of trees, but the conifers are the predominant feature and dwarf the pines of our woods. Both the Tepl and the Eger contain fish, the former trout. The Sprudel water rapidly deposits its salts in cooling, parting with its carbonic acid, and numerous petrifactions result, which are

made into very pretty inlaid ornaments: the shop-windows are full of them, as also of garnets and many kinds of Bohemian glass.

We went to various places in the neighbourhood: Pirkenhammer, where there is a porcelain factory; Giesshübler Püchstein, beautifully situated on the Eger, famous for its water, which is exported at the rate of four million bottles a-year; the Aberge, near the Bohemian forest, crowned by a tower 65 feet high, whence one sees part of Saxony, with Keilberg, the highest point in the Erzgebirge, Bohemia, and part of Bavaria; Engelhaus, on the Prague road, at the foot of a block of basalt rising abruptly out of the plain, with the ruins of an old thirteenth-century castle at the summit; Slakenwerth, a quaint old Bohemian town, with a large schloss at its entrance belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; Elbogen, so called because it is situated at a sharp bend of the Eger, with its fine old castle built nearly a thousand years ago, but still perfect; Marienbad and Franzensbad, where we saw the various springs.

Being comparatively near Prague, we determined to go and see it, slept there one night, and started early the next morning to do as much as we could. We crossed the Moldau by the Carlbrucke, where the statue of St John of Nepomuc was pointed out and the place where he was thrown into the river. Passing through the aristocratic quarter, we drove to the palace of Wallenstein (correctly Walstein) and went all over it. We saw the horse (stuffed) which the count rode at the battle of Lützen, and many other of his belongings. We then went to the Monastery of the Primostratense, where we saw amongst other things a visiting-book containing the names of Nelson and Emma and William Hamilton, the library, and the church, over which we were shown by the charming old priest-librarian. We then saw on the old wall a building which had formed part of the Inquisition, where all sorts of horrors were perpetrated, of which the traces are to be seen

even now, and some of the terrible instruments of torture and death, including an oubliette round which the victims used to be chained to listen to the groans of the last who had been lowered into the depths to die of starvation, knowing that they would each follow him in due time! We saw the institution for spinsters of noble birth founded by Maria Theresa, the royal palace, burg, now empty as there is no king, the council chamber from the window of which Count Thurm and his friend were thrown just before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the Ladislau Hall, and the cathedral. Later we drove to the Jewish quarter and to the Rudolphinium, a public gallery. We then had to leave in order to get back to Carlsbad that night.

On June the 15th the sad news came of the death of the Emperor of Germany, worn out by exhaustion, extension of ulceration, and probably septic mischief in the lungs. It was a sad end to a noble life, the latter part of which had been watched with the most profound sympathy by the whole of Europe.

On the 30th we left, stopping on the way at Nuremberg, Kissingen, Homburg, Cologne, and Brussels. Nuremberg is a most interesting old town: we saw the Laurenz Kirche, various other churches, Albert Dürer's house, and in the ancient Roman five-cornered tower the famous Iron Maiden, Spanish horse, rack, and other instruments of torture. I arrived in London on July the 5th, decidedly better though not quite well.

The weather during the first part of July was cold and wet, and on the 11th snow fell in Norwood and many parts of England.

The rest of the summer passed in much the usual way—meetings, consultations, dinner-parties. The most interesting of the latter was at the Mansion House, when I met the French Ambassador and the President of the Paris Exhibition, and sat next to Prince Iskander Ali of Moorshedabad, who asked me to go and shoot tigers in Bengal.

At my recommendation a change was now made in the constitution of the Medical Board at the India Office by the decision of the Secretary of State that in future the Indian member should be a retired officer and should be appointed for three years. Under this rule Partridge was appointed *vice* Hooper, who returned to India, and who in later years succeeded me as president.

At the end of August we left for Scotland. I was able to walk a good deal better than in the previous year. At Kyleakin there were two deer-drives, and in the second I got a fine yeld hind, dropping her with a shot from the shoulder at 250 yards. Whilst here I heard of a proposition to discontinue the attendance of the Indian candidates at Netley, and wrote a memo for the Secretary of State opposing it; but learning that the measure was to be passed immediately, leaving no time for remonstrance, wrote to Sir Henry Ponsonby to submit it to the Queen. It was some time before the result was known, but this reference put a stop to the whole proceeding, and for a time at least Netley was left undisturbed, the great danger that threatened it was averted, and the course of education for the young medical officers remained the same as before.

At Dunrobin there were several interesting people, among them Sir Allen Young, the Arctic traveller, Sir Gerald Fitzgerald, who told me much about his experiences in Egypt during the war, Dr W. H. Russell, the Marchioness of Londonderry, and many others. When here I heard of the death of Mr Jameson who was with the Stanley expedition, and who had married Miss Ethel Durand from my house: much sorrow was expressed at the news. When I left for Balmedie the hills near Aberdeen were white with snow.

The first Black Mountain expedition had started on October the 1st, and my son Jim, in the 5th Gurkhas, was with it. The papers soon reported fighting, one officer killed and one wounded, who subsequently died,

and we felt anxious about Jim. Ere long he commanded a detachment in a successful engagement. This expedition was concluded in November: it was well conducted, and there was comparatively little loss of life.

On my return I heard the Harveian Oration by Dr Lathom: all the Fellows appeared in academic costume, this being the first time it was worn at that lecture.

In November I saw Mr Knowles, the editor of the 'Nineteenth Century,' about a letter in reference to a recent article on over-education, and subsequently wrote a longer letter for the Review, which, as far as I remember, appeared in the December number. Next year I wrote two papers for this Review on the deaths caused by wild animals and venomous snakes in India.

There were the usual shooting expeditions before the end of the year,—one to Brooke House, Norwich, with General Nassau Lees, who was then ailing, and, much to my regret, died early the following year.

At the end of November my kind friend the Duchess of Sutherland died after a very short illness: I deeply regretted her loss.

I have not made much reference to professional work, but it had on the whole increased, and my time had been fully occupied with that and attending meetings of various medical and other societies, and reading. I made a good many visits to different parts of the country for consultations, but I had abundant proof that my practice was very much limited for the reasons before mentioned, and on account of a very prevalent idea that I was not supposed to practise at all.

CHAPTER XXV.

LIFE IN LONDON—*continued*

(1889–1895).

Opening of new Medical School at Haslar—Leprosy committee—Visit Carlsbad again—Return by Munich—Pettenkofer—Visit Corby Castle—Scotland, shooting—Renewed discussions about Netley—Queen again intervenes—Death of Lord Napier of Magdala—Made LL.D. of St Andrews—Stanley—Carlsbad again—Scotland, shooting—Mortality from snake-bite and wild animals in India—Marriage of my youngest daughter—Visit Guernsey—Naval Exhibition—Carlsbad for the last time—Return by Dresden and Berlin—Congress of Hygiene and Demography—New medical warrant—Scotland, shooting—Mayor's banquet at Brighton—Question of my retirement raised—Death of my second daughter—Go to Edinburgh—Visit to France—Write articles for Davidson's book—Scotland, shooting—Death of the Duke of Sutherland—Tercentenary of Galileo—Expeditions with Army Sanitary Committee—Lecture to nurses on cholera—Tercentenary of Harvey at Cambridge—Marriage of Duke of York—Scotland, shooting—Writing papers for Dr Clifford Allbutt's book—Address to Church Sanitary Association—Scotland, shooting—Made honorary member of Carpenter's Company—My retirement from the India Office announced—Successor nominated—Take leave of the India Office—Retire from presidentship of Medical Board—Winter at Falmouth—Baronetcy.

In March 1889 I went to Haslar, to the opening of the Medical School, with Sir A. Clark, Sir Dyce Duckworth, and Dr Dick, C.B. Sir A. Clark and I were there together in 1847 as assistant surgeons: it was very interesting to go there again, and the day was most enjoyable, as we

steamed about the harbour in the Commander-in-Chief's launch.

In March a committee of the College of Physicians on blackwater fever was meeting: the members of it were Quain, Harley, Duckworth, Stone, Fayrer. We sent in our final report on the 28th. During the following month there were meetings of the leprosy committee at the college.

In April I went to Netley to see Dr D. B. Smith, who was seriously ill. He died not long afterwards of cerebral disease, and was succeeded by Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Cayley, an officer of great ability.

A medal had been issued to commemorate the jubilee of the Queen's reign, and as a member of the Prince of Wales's household it was sent to me by the Queen's desire and with a kind message from his Royal Highness. Subsequently a bar was issued for this to commemorate the second jubilee ten years later, which I also received.

Though my joints had been better I had suffered severely from gastralgia this year, and consequently went to Carlsbad again. Coming back, I stopped at Munich, where Professor Pettenkofer took me to the Hygienic Institute: we saw his assistants at work at bacteriology and analysis, and then went to the picture-gallery, the cathedral, and the colossal statue of Bavaria, from the head of which there was a fine view. The professor had a lunch-party in my honour, when he made a kind speech about me, to which I replied in English. The river quite fulfils its description of "Iser rolling rapidly."

During my absence my first grandchild was born, and soon after my return I heard of the death, in America, of my friend Eldridge.

In August my wife and I left for the North, and went first to Corby Castle to visit our friend Mrs Hills. It was rather too early for fishing in the Eden, but the country was very beautiful, and we were much interested in seeing the ruins of Lanercost Abbey and Naworth, Lord Carlisle's place, one of the Border castles. At Edinburgh, in the

exhibition of naval and military objects, I saw an old garrison order that divine service would be held in Dr Fayrer's house on a certain Sunday during the siege of Lucknow. On my way to Kyleakin I landed at Loch Scavaig and saw the black trap-rocks, the dark and gloomy Loch Coruisk, and the Cuchullin Hills, partly hidden in mist: it was most wild, sombre, and picturesque. On joining my wife in Edinburgh, we went to see the Forth Bridge, which was approaching completion: it is a most stupendous structure, a marvel of engineering skill and labour. Before returning to London I visited my friends in Galloway.

The question of Netley and the Indian medical candidates was raised again, and in November I went to see Lord Cross and explained to him fully my reasons for thinking it ought not to be interfered with. He subsequently sent me the opinions of the officers of the Indian Medical Service, of which I made an abstract and wrote a minute on them; but I wrote again to Sir Henry Ponsonby, and it was the Queen's interference that a second time settled the matter. Since then Netley has been allowed to carry on its useful work unmolested, but with certain improvements recommended as an outcome of the attempted suppression of its existence as a school.

This winter our son Harry arrived from Texas: he looked depressed, probably from the solitary life he had been leading, but he soon regained his health. He had been away nearly seven years, and it was a great pleasure to us to see him again. Our two sons in India were doing well, and Dr Rice, the surgeon-general, who was then in England, spoke very highly of my second son's professional abilities.

At the end of November I wrote to the authorities protesting against Indian medical officers being made either to resign their special appointments on promotion or retire from the service. It was at the close of this year that the navy decided to have a competitive examination of its own, and consequently the Board's duties ceased with respect to the medical candidates for the navy.

On January 2, 1890, there was a meeting of the leprosy committee at Norfolk House, the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Sir Somers Vine, and myself present: the meetings of this committee continued over a long period.

On the 13th I was summoned from a dinner for the leprosy fund at which the Prince of Wales was presiding, to see Lord Napier of Magdala, who was seriously ill: he died the next day, and was buried on the 1st at St Paul's, but I was prevented from attending, much to my regret. I had known him for many years, and had the greatest admiration and respect for him. On the 29th the medical profession sustained a great loss in the death of Sir William Gull, at the age of seventy-three.

During the first three or four months of this year influenza was very prevalent: we were fortunate enough to escape it, though in many households more than half were struck down. It began to abate after March.

At this time I was much interested in Trotter's 'History of India under Victoria,' and was also reading works on philosophy and natural science. I must not omit to mention the pleasure I derived from my wife's constant reading to me, from the very beginning of our married life, especially the works of Sir Walter Scott, which have been and are a never-failing source of interest and amusement, though our reading is by no means confined to this author.

On April the 16th I left for St Andrews, and the next day went to St Mary's College, where the graduation ceremony took place. I was made LL.D. with two others and three D.D.'s., besides all the ordinary candidates.

In May Mr Stanley gave an account of his travels to a large audience, the Prince of Wales in the chair: later on I met Stanley and had a talk with him at Colonel Grant's, and subsequently read his book 'In Darkest Africa.' Soon after, dining at the Duke of Sutherland's, I met Stanley, Parke, and Stair. Early in June a dinner-party was given to Surgeon Parke by about 150 medical men. Parke made a good speech, very modest and unpretending: his conduct

had been most praiseworthy throughout the expedition, and he was rightly honoured for it. Unfortunately he died rather suddenly in 1893.

The state of my health required another visit to Carlsbad, and accordingly I went there in the middle of June. Soon after my return there was a meeting of the College of Physicians about the Medical Services, at which I spoke most strongly. This was the second meeting on this subject. There was a deputation to the Secretary of State for War, and a dinner-party to meet the deputation at Sir Andrew Clark's. I subsequently wrote Sir Andrew, at his request, a long letter on this subject to aid him in replying to the Secretary of State for War, with whom he was in correspondence.

A Congress of Hygiene and Demography was to be held in London the next year, and committee meetings for its organisation were beginning, in which I took part.

Towards the end of August I went to the opening of the Sanitary Congress at Brighton, and the next day left for Scotland. I went to Dolphinton and Skye as usual, and from there to Sir Algernon Borthwick's at Invercauld, a lovely place on the Dee and surrounded by wild and beautiful scenery. I went out stalking or shooting every day, and met some very interesting people. At a grouse-drive we met the Prince of Wales, Prince Henry of Battenberg, Sir Fleetwood Edwardes, and others from Abergeldie and Balmoral. One day the Queen, Princess Beatrice, and Lady Errol came to tea. The Queen talked very kindly to me, and asked if I was going to India again: I said my Indian career was closed unless her Majesty had need of me, when I would go with pleasure. I had a deer-stalk on Ben Aboord, but only had one chance, at a stag lying down, and did not kill him. I picked up some smoky cairngorms, and had a fine one cut and set in a brooch. We went out for another grouse-drive, at which the Prince of Wales and Prince Edward were present. On going south I stayed with Lady Selkirk at Balmaye, and at Spottes with Mr

Herries and his son, who soon became engaged to my daughter. While there I went to see Threave Castle, on an island in the Dee, an old stronghold of the Douglas, a most interesting ruin. I also stayed at Crawfordton and at Glenlaggan with Colonel Sanderson.

Soon after my return I went to Highgate to give a lecture at the Literary and Scientific Institute on the *feræ naturæ* of India.

There were several meetings about the coming Congress, and I was appointed president of the section of Preventive Medicine. A conference was held at the Civil Service Commissioners' office concerning marks for the physical examination of candidates, but I did not concur in the scheme, and sent in a minute to the Secretary of State for India on the subject. Another scheme was proposed early the following year, and though better than the former, I still could not concur in it.

This year Sir Gabriel Stokes retired from the presidentship of the Royal Society, and was succeeded by Sir William Thompson, afterwards Lord Kelvin.

Early in December Ella Mayhew, daughter of my old friend Colonel Mayhew, adjutant-general of the Bengal army, sailed for India to marry my second son: he met her at Bombay, where she went to stay with her relatives, the Macphersons, and they were married at once.

I was reading a good many interesting books in the closing months of this year — Didon's 'Life of Christ,' Gladstone's 'Impregnable Rock,' Jephson's 'Emin Pacha,' and many others.

Early in January 1891 a despatch from the Government of India about mortality from snake-bite and wild animals was sent to me, probably as a result of my papers on this subject in the 'Nineteenth Century,' and I wrote a minute on it: these despatches were subsequently sent me every year for comment as long as I remained at the India Office.

On the 15th April my younger daughter was married to W. D. Herries of Spottes at St George's, Hanover Square.

There was a large number of old friends at the church and at the house afterwards. They spent their honeymoon at the house of his cousin, Lord de Saumarez, in Guernsey, where Mr Herries and I paid them a visit, and afterwards they went to Switzerland.

My health had been better this year, but it was thought advisable that I should go to Carlsbad again, and this time I was accompanied by Mr MacDonnel, V.C., of Arrah fame. We went *viâ* Cologne and Maintz, and remained the usual time. I returned by Dresden and Berlin, both of which towns interested me much. At Dresden the pictures were lovely, the Sistine Madonna passing description, and at Berlin also I saw many interesting people and places.

While absent during the month of July I had been elected a Foreign Member of the Italian Society of Hygiene, Milan, and the following year became a Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, the diploma bearing the king's autograph. I have omitted to mention that I had been made a Fellow of the College of Physicians and Member of the Academy of Sciences of Philadelphia.

At the distribution of prizes at Netley this year Sir Thomas Longmore made his last appearance as professor after forty-one years' service—a great loss to the school, of which he had been a mainstay and support. He was a most excellent man as well as a most distinguished military surgeon.

On the 10th of August the Congress of Hygiene and Demography was formally opened at St James's Hall by the Prince of Wales. H.R.H. made a good speech in reply to Sir Douglas Galton; and Brouardel of Paris, Roth of Dresden, Corradi of Florence, and one or two others, spoke. In the evening Sir Andrew Clark gave a dinner at the College of Physicians, at which about 150 persons were present. The next day the work of the Congress began, and I gave my presidential address in the Society of Antiquaries' rooms: all the other sections were in different

parts of Burlington House. The Congress continued its work till the Saturday, and all the sections were largely attended: fortunately the weather was fine and dry. There were soirées or dinner-parties every evening, and on the 11th I had a dinner-party of twenty-six, mostly foreigners. The secretary-general, Dr Poore, had a most difficult task, but he devoted himself to it and worked most assiduously. On the 16th there was a service at Westminster Abbey, at which Canon Farrar preached.

Early in August a new warrant, the result of the recent remonstrances, gave mixed military and medical titles to medical officers, but it did not afford satisfaction, as it still restricted the duties as to command, presidency of courts, &c.; moreover, the titles were in some cases cumbersome and inconvenient—*e.g.*, "Brigade Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel."

We paid our accustomed visit to Scotland in the autumn, and on November the 9th I went to Brighton and dined at the mayor's banquet. My friend Ewart was mayor, an office to which he was subsequently re-elected. I was occupied with some lectures, one to the Epsom College on poisonous snakes, and two on dysentery to the students of Charing Cross Hospital, and also wrote for the 'British Medical Journal' a memo about my old teacher, Wharton Jones, who had died lately.

At the prize-giving at Netley early this year (1892) I must have got a chill, for the next day I was taken ill and laid up with pneumonia for three weeks. While ill I got a note from the Under Secretary of State for India, followed the next day by an official letter, informing me that by the new age rules I must retire next September, as I was over sixty-five. I wrote a letter of remonstrance, pointing out that I had taken the appointment for life, and had given up all my prospects in India for it; that conditions had been imposed which seriously limited my practice; and that I had been obliged to retire from the service on a comparatively small pension. No reply came to this till June, when I had a

note from the Under Secretary of State asking me to withdraw this letter, as the new Order in Council had specially stated that no personal reasons could be taken into consideration. I did so in deference to his advice, and soon afterwards had an official letter to the effect that I was to retain my appointment until January 1895, as it was considered that my retirement would be detrimental to the public service.

On the 1st of March my wife went to Edinburgh, and in the afternoon we received the news that my younger daughter had a son. She went on well for a short time, then became very ill, and just as she seemed to be getting better we had the sad news that she had died suddenly on March the 26th. The loss of this young bright life was inexpressibly sad, and the thought of the young husband and the poor little motherless child left alone was terrible. My wife was with our daughter, but I had not been well enough to travel, and had not seen her since the autumn. My eldest son and I went to Edinburgh as soon as we heard the sad news, and I remained there till April the 7th.

I resumed the usual routine of work in London, though it was difficult under the great blow I had sustained. Want of sleep kept me back somewhat, but otherwise my health was improving.

I was composing a reply to the Secretary of State for War in reference to a communication asking me my opinion on change in the constitution of the examining board for the medical department of the army. The result of this was that Government, acting on my advice that the period of the tenure of office should be limited to a certain number of years, though of course this was not meant to apply to present incumbents, deprived me and the other examiners of our appointments, by which we each lost £200 a-year!

In May Sir William Aitken resigned his appointment as professor at Netley on account of ill-health. When the question of appointing a successor arose, I recorded a protest against the appointment of any but a military man,

as the service was able to supply a thoroughly competent professor. However, a civilian of the highest scientific eminence was selected.

Soon after, my son Jim, now a captain, and I started *viâ* Southampton and St Malo for a short visit to Paris. We saw the Eiffel Tower, very wonderful and very graceful; but the most interesting part of our trip lay in the visits we paid to institutions and people, amongst the latter Jim's friends, Mr and Mrs Darmstetter: they had seen him at Abbottabad, and had mentioned him in their book on India. Baron Larrey showed us his relics of Napoleon, amongst them his telescope, and went with us to the Invalides, where a captain on duty took us over the crypt of Napoleon's tomb and the museum of arms. We went to the Val de Grace, where Professor Catrin showed us the school. We also saw Professor Laveran, who demonstrated his newly discovered malarial plasmodia. At the Institute I was introduced by Baron Larrey to Prince Buonaparte, heard a paper read, and saw the election of a new member. I was introduced as an Associate at the Academy of Medicine and presented some of my writings, and soon after my return sent the 'Thanatophidia' with an explanation of it to Baron Larrey, to present to the Académie des Sciences.

I was at this time reading Marbot's Life in French, and found it most interesting, and was also writing articles for Dr Davidson's book on 'Diseases of Warm Climates,' a paper on poisoning in India for the 'British Medical Journal,' and a short account of a rattlesnake-bite which I had seen recently.

There were many old friends at my son Jim's wedding with Miss Katharine Steward on August the 31st. It took place at St Mary Abbott's, and they sailed for India shortly afterwards.

This year we went straight to Spottes, and I proceeded thence to Dunrobin, where besides other game I got three stags. I left for Kyleakin on the 22nd of September, and, to my great sorrow, heard soon afterwards that the Duke

had died very suddenly the next evening: he was looking very well when I last saw him. I had known him intimately for many years, had always received the utmost kindness and hospitality from him and the Duchess, and my yearly visits to Dunrobin had contributed much to my enjoyment of my visits to the North. His sudden death was a great shock. After a short time at Kyleakin, fishing, I went to Invercauld, where I got two more stags, one a fine switch horn. At a deer-drive, when the party consisted, amongst others, of the Prince of Wales and Prince Henry of Battenberg, nine stags were shot. Wolfe, the violinist, was staying at Invercauld, and his playing was delightful; also Arthur Cecil, the actor, who was very entertaining. I went with M. de Falbe to Mar Lodge and saw the Princess of Wales, the Duchess of Fife, Princess Victoria, and Prince Henry of Prussia. I afterwards paid my usual visits in the south of Scotland.

Sir Richard Owen died in December, and Sir William Flower, I, and some others were deputed to represent the Zoological Society at the funeral of this great palæontologist, at Ham.

At the end of November Sir Andrew Clark asked me to represent the College of Physicians at the tercentenary of Galileo, to take place at Padua in December; the University of Edinburgh also asked me to represent it. I travelled straight through, and arrived at Padua on the 5th of December. The other Englishmen deputed to the tercentenary were Professor Stone, representing Oxford, Professor George Darwin, Cambridge, and Sir Norman Lockyer, the Royal Society. On December the 6th the delegates, having assembled in the great hall of the university, met the rector, Signor Ferraris, and the syndic, Count Giusti, who read an address of welcome. We went to see the city, going first to the Arena, an old Roman amphitheatre: connected with it is the Oratory of the Annunciata, where were many beautiful frescoes by Giotto. We visited the old church of San Antonio, with several domes, reminding one of St Mark's

at Venice, the various quadrangles of the old monastery and chapel of St Georgio, the library, and an oratory containing frescoes by Titian and his school. In the evening we went to the reception at the Casino Pedrocchi, where I made the acquaintance of the Contessa Papafava and the Contessa Valmarana Citadella Vicodarzere.

December the 7th was another bright but cold day. I wore my LL.D. hood and gown and the ribbon and badge of the Star of India, and went with Darwin and Stone—also in academic costume—to the university. In the great hall the delegates assembled; the Minister of Public Instruction was there to represent the King. Some of the academic costumes were very picturesque. We marched in procession, no order of precedence being observed, probably to avoid wounding susceptibilities, and entered the magnificent hall where Galileo himself had taught. The walls were covered with coats of arms of former professors and students, portraits and statues, and a new bust of Galileo, crowned and decorated. By the side of the pulpit, high against the wall, was placed, amongst other insignia, a new gonfalone presented by the ladies of Padua, very handsomely embroidered with gold. The *rettore magnifico* read an address of welcome and of compliment to the Minister and delegates. Professor Favaro, who has written much on Galileo, then ascended the tribune and gave a most eloquent address—a whole life of Galileo—which lasted two hours: he was greeted with great applause and many handshakes when he came down.

Lots had been drawn for precedence; it fell to England, and I was called upon to speak first. I went to the platform and spoke in Italian for about ten minutes, afterwards presenting the addresses from the College of Physicians and the University of Edinburgh. Darwin followed me, and he also spoke in Italian: he did it well, and they all seemed astonished that Englishmen could talk Italian. Next followed the delegates from Germany, Russia, Hungary, France, &c., professors from all the other universities and

many other institutions. All spoke in praise of Galileo and the Padua University. I noticed that only one man, a professor from Florence, alluded in any terms to Galileo's recantation. I was glad to hear some one mention it, for, wonderful philosopher as he was, he was certainly neither martyr nor hero, and it is doubtful whether he ever said "e pur si muove." After the speaking was over, the rector announced that the university had conferred honorary degrees on a certain number, including many delegates: Darwin, Stone, and I were among them, being made Doctors of Philosophy. All spoke most kindly about our speeches: they said they had heard every word of mine all over the immense hall, where over 1000 were assembled. I then went with the Contessa Papafava to her palazzo, a fine old building, to see an extraordinary group of some hundreds of figures of falling angels cut out of one block of marble. It was more curious than beautiful, and one did not wonder that the sculptor should have gone mad!

In the evening we went to a dinner given by the rector and professors to the minister, the prefect, the syndic, and the delegates. There were some good speeches, and we afterwards went to the theatre to see the new play of "Amleto" ("Hamlet").

The next day I walked to Ponte San Lorenzo to find the house said to have been inhabited by Dante, which is just opposite an old sarcophagus supposed to contain the ashes of Antenor, the reputed founder of Padua. Stone, Darwin, and I got a wreath of metal laurels to place on Galileo's statue. We then went to the university, where a great crowd of delegates, officials of all kinds, and students had assembled, and marched in procession, two bands playing, to the statue of Galileo in the Piazza Vittore Emanuele. There Signor Marzolo, an advocate, and others addressed the crowd, the subject always the same, praise of Galileo. We returned by a different route, and stopped at a house in the garden of which Galileo is said to have made his observations on the sun and the planets. At seven o'clock

there was a grand banquet at which over 200 ladies and gentlemen were present, given by the syndic and prefect. Many speeches were made, and I spoke on behalf of the English.

This concluded the ceremonies of the tercentenary, but I remained the next day to see a little more of Padua with Signor Marzolo, who was a charming guide. We saw many places, amongst them the Salone, one of the largest halls in the world, lent to the students for the festivities. They had there a beautiful plaster group of Galileo and an angel at his feet presenting some offering to the great philosopher. Some one had got in during the night and mutilated the angel's figure, and they were much annoyed about it. We drove to the Observatory, and went up the tower: the director was most kind, and I looked through the great telescope and saw the sun's spots. They want a more powerful instrument, as this does not show the fifth, the new, satellite of Jupiter.

There were several students from German universities in their picturesque costumes of black velvet jerkins with black aiguillettes, white breeches, jack-boots, velvet caps with ostrich feathers, and basket-hilted swords with very narrow blades. They were mostly scarred on the face, but good-looking young fellows.

The tercentenary was a great success, and I wrote to the Rector Ferraris and to Count Giusti to thank them for all the kindness we had received and to congratulate them.

At Verona, on the way home, the guide took us first to the Arena, almost as good a specimen of a Roman amphitheatre as the Coliseum, built of white and reddish limestone or marble. We then drove to see the new wall and mound built to restrain the river Adige when it overflows. Of it also may be said—

"Rapido fiume che d'Alpestra vena."

By this time it was snowing hard. We saw the church of San Zeno, Dante's reputed house, and the houses of the

Montecuti and Capuletti, on the latter of which is an inscription saying that Giulietta lived there. At the cathedral we saw the mosaics recently found under the flooring,—very beautiful and well preserved by the earth so long heaped upon them. We saw the Palazzo dei Consigli with the splendid statue of Dante, also the tomb of Can Grande della Scala, and several churches. We found Milan white with snow, and went on through Turin and the Mont Cenis tunnel to Paris. We had no time there, and had nothing to eat between lunch at Turin and our embarkation on board the Foam the next day! I reached London a good deal knocked up by the cold and want of food. I made out reports for the College of Physicians and the University of Edinburgh the same evening, and sent them both in the next day.

At the beginning of 1893 I had another attack of pneumonia which confined me to my room for three weeks.

In March I gave Sir A. Clark a statement of my services of forty-six years. He wished to submit it to the Secretary of State with a view to some recognition of them: this was entirely his own suggestion, and I heard afterwards that the President of the College of Surgeons and the President of the Medical Council wrote to the same effect.

During my convalescence, which was slow, I read a good many books, amongst them the 'Kernel and the Husk,' Motley's 'Dutch Republic,' 'Lux Mundi,' 'Christus Comprobator,' the Duke of Argyll's book on the foundations of society, Haweis's 'Broad Church,' Stopford Brooke's 'English Literature,' Momerie's 'Religion of the Future,' Stanley's 'Eastern Church,' Herbert Spencer, Fairbairn's 'Christian Theology,' and many others, besides light works by Clarke Russell, Bolderwood, and various other authors. During the spring I was much occupied with minutes and reports on drainage and barrack accommodation, and, with the other members of the Army Sanitary Committee, went on two visits of inspection,—one in April to Dublin,

which had special reference to a new system of drainage for the city and its possible interference with Pigeon House Fort; the other to Sheffield, Leeds, and Bradford in May. Between these two expeditions we made another to Cross Ness, the outfall works in the Thames.

Lectures were going on at the College of Physicians as usual, and one by Dr Halliburton on coagulation of the blood specially interested me. He gave a good explanation of cases I had so often described of pulmonary embolism.

On April the 1st there was an article in the 'Naval and Military Gazette' about my retirement. Similar letters appeared in other papers, and it was from this time, when my approaching retirement from the India Office was generally known, that my professional work began to decline, it apparently being the prevalent opinion that I was retiring from all work.

In May I gave a lecture to the Queen's Jubilee Nurses on nursing in cholera. Sir Dyce Duckworth was in the chair, and Princess Christian was present: Her Royal Highness was much interested in the British Nurses' Association, which had been founded a few years previously.

This month I was with Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India, when he received a deputation about the Medical Services, and spoke on the occasion, emphasising the various points having reference to the dissatisfaction of the service which were laid before him.

To my great regret my dear old friend Partridge retired from his post as member of the India Office Medical Board on account of failing eyesight: he was succeeded by Brigade Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel K. Macleod, a most able and distinguished officer. I wrote to the Under Secretary of State on the subject of some honour for Partridge on his retirement, and he shortly afterwards appeared in the 'Gazette' as C.I.E. It was very sad that so distinguished a career should have thus been brought to a close. He was universally loved and respected, and was my closest personal

friend. It was my sad duty to write an obituary notice of him not many years later.

I went to Cambridge with Mr Pollock to attend a dinner in honour of the tercentenary of Harvey at Caius College on June the 21st: there were many good speeches, by Paget, Clark, Huxley, and others.

On the 5th of July my wife and I were at a garden-party at Marlborough House at which the Queen and many foreign royalties were present, and the next day the Duke of York was married to Princess May of Teck. There were general rejoicings, great crowds, and splendid illuminations.

About the middle of this month there was a special general meeting of the College of State Medicine, of which I was chairman of the Council, to obtain the consent of the members for its amalgamation with the Institute of Preventive Medicine. This was done soon afterwards, the formal consent of the Prince of Wales, who was its president, having been obtained. I had a seat on the council of the newly amalgamated Institute, which was subsequently called the Jenner Institute of Preventive Medicine.

I went to Spottes for the 12th of August this year. It was a very hot day, and the birds were few and far between; we got only eleven brace. I remained about ten days, shooting and fishing, after which at the end of August I went to Kyleakin *viâ* Glasgow and the Crinan Canal. The fishing was not so good as usual this year; there were plenty of lythe and cod, but very little else. I was reading 'Midshipman Easy' while there. What a delightful writer Marryat is! I read his works over and over again with pleasure, and their interest is increased by my having known him in my boyhood.

On my return to London after my usual visits I was grieved to hear that Sir Andrew Clark had had an attack of paralysis a day or two before: he died early in November, and on the 11th I attended his funeral service at Westminster Abbey, representing the University of Edinburgh. Mr Glad-

stone, Sir H. Acland, Sir R. Quain, and Dr Russell Reynolds, were the pall-bearers. Dr Russell Reynolds was elected President of the College of Physicians in place of Sir Andrew Clark.

Rajah Brooke of Sarawak came to see me early in '94, and we had a long conversation about Borneo and subjects connected with the East.

In February 1894 Dr Clifford Allbutt asked me to write articles for 'A System of Medicine,' of which he was editor. I did so, and was occupied a good part of this year, until the end of August, writing papers on the climate and some of the fevers of India, and on sunstroke.

At the end of February rumours became rife that Gladstone was about to resign. He did so early in March; Lord Rosebery became Prime Minister, and there were other changes in the Cabinet, Lord Kimberley going to the Foreign Office and Mr Fowler taking his place at the India Office.

My health was troubling me again a good deal, and later on, about the middle of April, I went to Paris for a few days, and met many of my medical friends there, Baron Larrey amongst others, enjoyed my expedition very much, and came back all the better for it.

This spring I attended the Hibbert Lectures, which were given by Dr Drummond, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, on Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form. I thought them most interesting.

On the 26th of July I was requested to preside at the meeting of the Church Sanitary Association at Grosvenor House, and gave an address, dealing chiefly with sanitary questions in connection with the functions of the clergy.

My wife and I went to the distribution of prizes at Leamington College this year. The Speaker, Mr Peel, presided, and made an excellent speech. The school was progressing favourably, and my son-in-law, the head-master, was congratulated on the success of his administration.

This year Dr Weir Mitchell distributed the prizes at Netley, and gave an excellent address to the young officers. Dr Maclean made a speech about this being my last visit as a member of the senate. On my retirement my brother officers of the Medical Services invited me to sit for my portrait, to be placed in the school at Netley. It was painted by Mr Sydney Hall in 1896, and was unveiled by Lord Wolseley.

I began my visit to the North this year at Spottes, whence I went to Kyleakin and fished almost every day, though occasionally shooting grouse, and one day stalked some deer on the steep shore of Loch na Baste and got a fine yeld hind of over 14 stone. I thence went to pay a short visit to General Lockhart, one of my old Lucknow companions, at Camnethan House, Wishaw, a lovely place, but disfigured by the smoke of surrounding coal-pits, and concluded with Crawfordton, where we had the usual good shooting.

At the end of this year I was presented with the honorary freedom of the Carpenters' Company. This was interesting to me, as I have a great admiration for these ancient guilds with all their historic associations.

On the 7th of December I received a letter from the Under Secretary of State on the subject of my approaching retirement, followed shortly by another, informing me that a superannuation allowance of £300 a-year had been granted to me. The same day I heard that, in accordance with my recommendation, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Hooper was to be my successor at the India Office, and was glad to hand over my duties to one so thoroughly competent to do justice to the office. Soon after, a member of the Council told me that my name had been recommended by the Military Committee to the Secretary of State for some recognition by the Crown of my services during more than forty-five years.

At a meeting of the Society of Arts a paper was read by

General Michael on forestry in India. I spoke in favour of the paper and of Michael's work, pointing out how much he and Dr Cleghorn had done in initiating the Forest Department of India, which has had such successful results, and how little recognition they had received for these important services.

My son Jim had gone, as second in command of his battalion, to Waziristan with General Lockhart, where he laid the foundation of ill-health which ultimately necessitated his return to England on medical certificate, but happily he was able to resume his duties in India.

I had read as usual a good deal this year, chiefly theological works. Some of the more important were 'Literature and Dogma,' 'La Solidarité' by Bersier, Paige Cox's Sermons, Drummond's 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World,' 'Faith and Criticism,' Heber Newton, Ewald, Kuenen, Harnack, and other works of the higher criticism, a subject in which I have always been much interested.

At the end of 1894 I received an official letter from the Secretary of State in reference to my retirement, thanking me for, and speaking in high terms of, my services, especially those which had been rendered as President of the Medical Board. On the 8th of January 1895 I attended my last Board at the India Office, and took leave of my friends and colleagues there, with all of whom my relations had always been most cordial. The next day I saw Mr Fowler, who expressed his surprise and regret that my name had not appeared among the last recipients of honours, and said he hoped that its appearance had only been postponed. On the 12th I retired from the Medical Board with the rank of Surgeon-General. Later I was accorded a good-service (Military) pension of £100 a-year.

It was not till January (1896), when my wife and I had gone to Falmouth to avoid the damp and fogs of London, that I received a very kind letter from the Prime Minister, informing me that the Queen had been graciously pleased

to confer a baronetcy upon me in recognition of the position I had attained in my profession and my long service, during the last twenty years of which I had filled the office of president of the Medical Board at the India Office.

Here my story ends—

"Quando mi vidi giunto in quella parte
Di mia età, dove ciascun dovrebbe
Calar le vele e raccoglier le sarte."

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